A CATENA

OF

BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES

FROM

THE CHINESE.

BY

SAMUEL BEAL,

A CHAPLAIN IN HER MAJESTY'S FLEET; AUTHOR OF
"BUDDHIST PILGRIMS," ETC.

"But all these were but so many scattered seeds, which Christianity was
designed to quicken and make fruitful."—HAGENBACH,
Hist. of Doctrines, vol. i, 112.

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MEMORIÆ

FRATRIS DESIDERATISSIMI

GUIL. BEAL, LL.D.

HÆC STUDIA QUALIACUNQUE

DEDICAT AUCTOR.

ERRATA.

P. 13, l. 3. *For* "unusually," *read* "universally."
P. 39, l. 1. *For* "Saddharma-prâkasa-sâsana," *read* "Smrityupasthâna" (and in all subsequent cases).
P. 52, l. 33. *For* "Tusita," *read* "Trâyastrinshas."
P. 58, l. 26. *For* "Nirmânazati," *read* "Nirmânarati."
P. 59, n. 3. *For* "Taî-o-hi," *read* "Ta-o-pi."
P. 63, l. 20. *For* "Avata," *read* "Arbuta"; and in n. 1, *for* "O-fan-to," *read* "O-fau-to" (and in all subsequent cases).
P. 63, l. 22. *For* "Niravata," *read* "Nirarbuta"; and in n. 2, *for* "Ni-lai-fan-to," *read* "Ni-lai-fau-to."
P. 93, l. 5. *After* "Devas," *place* fig. "1."
P. 93, l. 11. *For* "1," *place* "2."
P. 97, l. 1. *For* "10," *place* "18."
P. 108, l. 25. *For* "sineh," *read* "siueh."
P. 128, l. 18. *For* "Sakha," *read* "Sâkya."
P. 131, l. 8. *For* "Sala trees," *read* "Asôka trees."
P. 135, l. 36. *For* "or," *read* "on."
P. 136, l. 36. *For* "Good land," *read* "Good Law."
P. 140, l. 29. *For* "to," *read* "ten."
P. 148, l. 10. *Place* l. 12 *before* l. 11.
P. 181, l. 28. *For* "wood," *read* "wind."
P. 188, l. 5. *Insert* "who" *before* "by."
P. 195, l. 5. Substitute a comma after "great," instead of a semicolon.
P. 199, l. 6. *For* "96," *place* "26."
P. 202, l. 6. *For* "heart," *read* "beast."
P. 206, l. 19. *For* "Pratimoisha," *read* "Pratimôksha."
P. 280, l. 31. *For* "tsen," *read* "tseu."
P. 332, l. 12. *For* "casual," *read* "causal."
P. 332, l. 33. *For* "casual," *read* "causal."
P. 416, l. 32. *After* "varsha-vardhana," *place* "query, paripritsha."

PREFACE.

Of the translations found in this book, several have already appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Having revised these and added others to complete what I conceive to be the cycle of the Buddhist development, I now publish the entire series as a contribution towards a more general acquaintance with Buddhist Literature in China.

The Buddhist Canon in that country, as it was arranged between the years 67 and 1285 A.D., includes 1440 distinct works, comprising 5586 books. But these form only a fractional part of the entire Buddhist Literature which is spread throughout the Empire. And yet of all this we have been content, hitherto, to remain profoundly ignorant. It is difficult to understand how we can claim, under these circumstances, to have any precise idea as to the religious condition of the Chinese people, or even to appreciate the phraseology met with in their ordinary books. Our first duty, surely, should be to turn our attention to the study of some portion at least of these extensive Scriptures.

I could have wished that this subject had been taken up by some one more competent than I am to do it justice, or, at least, by some one possessed of better opportunities than

I have, for thoroughly investigating it. In the absence of any promise of such an event, however, I have compiled the present work and now publish it.

The Book itself represents the result of some years of patient labour. I am solely responsible for the defects and errors which will be found in it. If it deserves any commendation, that also I shall gratefully accept for myself, as my re-assurance after many misgivings. But in any case I have found my reward in the delight which the study itself has afforded me, and the insight which I seem to have gained into the character of one of the most wonderful movements of the human mind in the direction of Spiritual Truth, such as I trace in the History of Buddhism.

[The Diagram on the cover of the present work represents the outline of the Buddhist Universe, as described in Part I.]

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沙門日用
成道記 by 王勃
千手千眼大悲心懺
摩訶般若波羅蜜多心經 by 無后子
摩訶般若波羅蜜經 translated by Kumarajîva.
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佛說四十二章經
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首楞嚴咒註釋本
準提咒
佛說阿彌陀經
金剛經
大雲輪請雨經
大般涅槃經
妙法蓮華經 printed at 江都 in the 蓮久寺
大字普門品
淨土文
合集準提彌陀儀釋集

A CATENA OF BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES FROM THE CHINESE.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

1. Although so much has been done to elucidate Buddhist history and philosophy during the last thirty or forty years, it is singular that no greater use has been made of the Buddhist Canon as it is found in China. It is well known that in many of the larger monasteries of that country there are to be found not only complete editions of the Buddhist Scriptures in the vernacular, but also Sanscrit originals, from which the Chinese version was made. And yet, so far as is generally known, no effort has been made, either in this country or elsewhere, to secure for our national libraries copies of these invaluable works.

2. Buddhist books began to be translated into Chinese so early as the middle portion of the first century A.D. It is one of the singular coincidences which occur in such abundance, between the history of Buddhism and the Christian religion, that whilst the influence of the latter was leavening the Western world, the knowledge of the former was being carried by missionaries—as zealous though not so well instructed as the followers of St. Paul—into the vast empire beyond the Eastern deserts; where it took root (long before Germany or England had become Christian), and has flourished ever since.

3. But the first complete edition of the Buddhist Canon in China dates only from the seventh century. It was prepared under the direction of Tae Tsung, the second emperor

of the Tang dynasty, who reigned from 627 to 650 A.D., and published by his successor, Kaou-Tsung.

Yung-loh, the third emperor of the Ming dynasty, 1410 A.D., prepared a second and much enlarged edition of the Canon, and also wrote an Imperial preface to it. This collection is called the Southern edition (nan ts'ang).

The thirteenth emperor of the same dynasty, Wan-leih, caused a third edition to be published about 1590 A.D., which is called the Northern Collection (peh ts'ang); this edition was renewed and enlarged in the year 1723 A.D., during the reign of Keen-lung, under the auspices of a former governor of Cheh-kiang, who wrote a preface to the catalogue of the works contained in it, and also added a reprint of the Imperial preface to the first complete edition, written by Tăe-Tsung. It is calculated that the whole work of the Indian translators in China, together with that of Hionen-thsang, amounts to about seven hundred times the size of the New Testament. The section known as the Mahâprajñâ pâramita, alone, is eighty times as large as the New Testament, and was prepared by Hionen Thsang without abbreviation, from the Sanscrit, embracing 200,000 slôkas.[1]

4. In knowledge of the existence of this large and complete collection of the Buddhist Scriptures, it is singular that so little use has been made of it, by missionaries or scholars generally.[2] It would be wrong to state that the 350 or 400 million people who inhabit China are Buddhists, but yet Buddhist modes of thought and phraseology prevail largely amongst them, and it is hardly consistent in us, whilst we deal with religious questions, to overlook the literature which contains the sacred deposit of the faith of so many millions of that population, as do strictly belong to the Buddhist faith. Moreover, it must be evident that so long as we are ignorant of the details of their religion, they will not be induced to listen to our denunciation of

[1] Edkins; in the Shanghae Almanac.

[2] I here except the case of M. Wassilief.

it; nor can we expect that our indifference to their prejudices will tend to remove them, or induce them to overlook ours.

5. There is another important service which a careful study of the Chinese version of the Buddhist Scriptures may render to the cause of literature generally, but especially towards a critical acquaintance with the original Sanscrit text of the Tripiṭaka. Prof. Max Müller has already observed that "the analytical structure of the Chinese language imparts to Chinese translations the character almost of a gloss; and although we need not follow implicitly the interpretations of the Sanscrit originals adopted by Chinese translators, still their antiquity would naturally impart to them a considerable value and interest."[1] And to illustrate his remarks, he gives one or two corrections suggested by Professor Stanislas Julien from a comparison with the Chinese version, of the translation of the *Lotus of the Good Law* made by the learned Burnouf from Sanscrit into French. Such corrections might be supplied almost indefinitely, for there is scarcely a section of that translation in which the Chinese version does not serve to provide some illustration or other. And what is true in this case would be found to be so in every case where a Sanscrit Sûtra and a Chinese version of it co-exist. Hence the great use of a comparative study of the two, and the advantage to the Sanscrit scholar who can consult both.[2]

[1] *Chips*, i, 206, n.

[2] To adduce a few instances from the Sûtra we have already named, the "Lotus of the Good Law." On p. 264, line 26, we read, "Reçois de moi, o homme vertueux, ce vêtement de la loi." The Chinese passage is equally brief: "Jin tchè, shau tsze fah shi"—that is, "O virtuous one! receive this religious offering"; and in explanation of the last phrase we find that there are two principal modes of almsgiving or dána, viz., "1. Dharma dána—providing for the recitation of the law, or the giving religious instruction. 2. Amisa-dána—presenting robes, alms-bowls, and other requisites of the priesthood; and giving cattle, garments, and ornaments to supply the necessities of the poor" (E. M., 196). It would appear, therefore, that in the Sanscrit copy, from which Bur-

6. But yet a more important consideration is the advantage we may derive from having in China copies of many of the sacred books which are unknown elsewhere. Such are the numerous works belonging to the Northern school, as it is called, and which, so far as is at present known, are not to be met with in their original Sanscrit form, either in India or Nepal. Such, for instance, is the Avataṁsaka Sûtra, written, as it is said, by Nagardjuna, and which, under the name of the "Fa yan King," is one of the commonest and most widely circulated Sûtras in China—the Kosha and Vibâsha Shasters, the Surañgama Sûtra, and many others. When these works have been properly studied and classified we shall have achieved very much towards a reasonable exposition of the system, and an intelligent account of its growth and development.

7. And incidentally from these studies we shall derive much information relating to the more obscure parts of Indian history and the struggles of the conflicting Indian sects. In the history of the mission of Song-Yun, for example, we have an account of the effect which a picture of the sufferings of Bôdhisatva, when he was born as Vêssantara, produced on the rough Indo-Scythic tribes who invaded North India, at the beginning of the Christian æra. He tells us[1] they could not refrain from tears when they

nouf translated, the latter expression was employed; whilst in the original, from which the Chinese version was prepared, the former was used. But in the expression, "vêtement de la loi," we have no clue to the meaning. Again, on p. 261, line 15, this passage occurs: "If hundreds of thousands of kôtis of creatures have beheld the gold, &c. with which their ship is freighted cast into the sea, &c." But the Chinese gives the passage if the same number of persons "have embarked on the great sea to search for gold or silver, &c." Again, on the eleventh line of the same page we read, "tous par la splendeur du Bôdhisatva Mahâsatva"; but the Chinese version gives, "all of these, by the august spiritual power of Bôdhisatwa, &c." Again, in the first chapter and third page of the French, the king of the Kinnaras, called Drûma, is in the Chinese called Dharma;—and such differences occur on almost every page.

[1] *Travels of Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. 201.

were shown the picture of the sufferings of the Prince. This little incident may very reasonably account for the conversion of the whole tribe of invaders, who, under the rule of Kanishka and his successors, became the most devoted patrons of the Buddhist faith, and the magnificent founders of Topes and temples, the ruins of which have come down even to our own times. And from this reference of Song Yun to the Vêssantara Jataka, represented in the White Elephant Temple near Varousha, we are led to connect the Sang-teh or Sânti Temples in the neighbourhood of that city, with the Sanchi or Santi Topes near Bhilsa, where also, over the northern gateway of the great Tope, we find sculptured the same history of Bôdhisatva as Vêssantara, giving away his whole possessions, his children and his wife, so that there might be no remnant of selfishness left in his nature, and thus he might be fitted to undertake the salvation of men. But it is scarcely necessary, in recollection of the labours of M. Julien, and the school of French Sinologues amongst whom he is conspicuous, to bring further instances of the manner in which we may derive funds of information from China respecting the civilisation of India.

8. Nor must we overlook the connection between the history of Buddhism in the East and the progress of Christian civilisation in the West. In the middle ages there was a favourite legend known throughout Europe, and generally accepted as genuine, under the name of Barlaam and Josaphat. This history is at present widely circulated in the modern edition of *The Lives of the Saints* by Symeon, the Translator (Metaphrastes).[1] But on examination we find that the life of Josaphat, who has somehow crept into the Roman martyrology, was but a copy of the well known history of Sakya Buddha, and was appropriated doubtlessly by the early Christian hagiographers, as being in itself a very touching and natural account of the struggle of a sensitive conscience with the temptations of a wicked and ensnaring

[1] The edition printed at Venice 1855, and called the *Paradise*, is that to which I refer.

world.[1] There are other instances of a mutual relationship and influence exerted on either side, by the intercommunication of ideas, between East and West. The effect of Roman enterprise on the civilisation of India has not yet been rightly estimated. Respecting this Mr. Fergusson has said—"My impression is that few who are familiar with the arts of Rome in Constantine's time, and who will take the trouble to master the Amravati sculptures, can fail to perceive many points of affinity between them. The circular medallions of the arch of Constantine—such as belong to his time—and the general tone of the art of his age so closely resemble what we find here, that the coincidence can hardly be accidental. The conviction that the study of these sculptures (of Amravati) has forced on my mind, is, that there was much more intercommunication between the East and West during the whole period from Alexander (the Great) to Justinian, than is generally supposed, and that the intercourse was especially frequent and influential in the middle period between Augustus and Constantine."[2] But if India received from Rome some part of her material civilisation, she gave back to Rome advanced ideas in the great problems that had vexed her religious life for centuries. The candid examination of this subject must yet engage the attention of learned men. Few will be found, however, to deny the fact that such an influence was exerted. The ideas found in the Inferno of Dante are many of them purely Buddhist. The conceit of the early painters who surrounded their saints with a glory of light is borrowed from the East. Who that reads the pilgrimage of Fah-hien but must observe the particular care the writer takes in speaking of the orthodox rule of facing the East during religious exercises. The story of the Patra of Buddha found in the same pil-

[1] For an account of this story see *Jahrbuch für Romanische und Englische Literatur*, April 1860; and also Professor Müller's lecture on the "Migration of Fables," printed in the *Contemporary Review*, July 1870.

[2] Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 161-2.

grimage is more than a probable origin of the myth of the Holy Grail. The monastic rules of the Buddhists, found in the Pratimoksha (a work dating from B.C.), are in their general tone, and even in some particulars, wonderfully like those adopted in the West.[1] The adoration of relics, which crept into the Christian church at an early period, is certainly not of Jewish origin; whilst in minuter details, touching vestments, bells, candles, and incense, the priority of their use among the Buddhists can hardly be disputed. Whether the similarity of these and other ceremonial observances between the two religions, be the direct consequence of intercourse resulting in imitation, or the power of Satan exercised for the purpose of deceiving the world and dishonouring truth, must be for the candid consideration of all earnest inquirers. This much, however, must be said, that the morality of Buddhism forbids us to associate that part of the system with any such influence. It has been said of the founder of this faith—"Si fuisset Christianus, fuisset apud Deum maximus factus";[2] and in every direction we find similar observations being extorted even from unwilling lips, in consideration of the simplicity and the purity of the moral precepts and practical rules of this religion. And if only the use of ceremonial observances, common to both East and West, is to relegate the religious system of the former to the evil power of Satan, it is not so evident why he should be excluded from the latter, in these same particulars.

9. But the widest and most interesting result to be derived from such studies as these, is the means they afford us for arriving at a correct judgment in the comparative science of religion. There is a Divine strategy employed in the education of the world, and its method may be traced in the less apparent affinities of religious systems, which, though generally unobserved, are tending to lead men towards the same central truth. We may sometimes venture to interpret the Divine method. And if in any case we

[1] *Vide* Spence Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*.

[2] Marco Polo.

may do so, certainly we may in the present subject of inquiry. The millions who inhabit China and India had been prepared through a long lapse of ages, by their respective religious systems, for the reception of higher truth. The morality of Confucius had preserved China from sinking into gross sensualism or degrading idolatry—the vigorous growth of the Buddhist system in India had preserved that country from the inevitable consequences of priestly tyranny. At the time of the Christian æra, the populations of these empires were prepared for an advance in the religious movement of the world. How interesting the field opened out to the eye both in East and West at this period—"the old order changing, yielding place to new"—St. Paul preaching at Rome, and perhaps in Spain and Britain, whilst Kanishka and his fierce tribes of Scyths were preparing a way of safety for the missionary to traverse through the mountain wilds of the East—and at the same time the whole population of China awaiting the return of an embassy sent to India to find out the doctrine of the Western Sage, of whom some imperfect report had already reached them. These events happening on such a world-wide scale, indicate the culmination of a Divine plan—the arrival of the full time for which men had been looking, and in preparation for which the religious systems of the peoples had been secretly working. It is not within the province of this work, even if it were in the competence of its author, to account for the apparent failure of the plan we have ventured to indicate—nor to suggest how the same plan may be otherwise carried out—or in what period of time—but yet the least acquaintance with history must satisfy the inquirer that one great cause of failure in all such cases is to be found in the neglect of those first principles of Religion, which, like healthy roots of a tree, convey to the remotest branches the nourishment of the soil; and we cannot but lament that whilst the Christian world was divided into conflicting sects, mutually anathematising each other, and wielding the sword of internecine warfare—the East was left in

ignorance of the great truths which it had been prepared to receive through the appointed instrumentality of its former Teachers.

10. The scope of the present work is to present the reader with a brief catena of Buddhist Scriptures, arranged so far as is possible in a chronological order, with a view to exhibit the origin and gradual expansion of the system, and to point out in what particulars it demands our candid consideration, and in what particulars it fails to deserve either attention or inquiry. The former phase will be found to consist in its peculiar purity as a religious system properly so called, whilst the latter will embrace those numerous divergencies of the system from its original character, into a scholastic and vain philosophy which ended in its ultimate confusion with other sects in India, or in its present lifeless condition in China and Japan. The works here translated are mostly standard ones, and if not strictly speaking in the Canon, are yet of great authority and are found in the libraries of most of the monasteries in the south of China.

CHAPTER I.

LEGENDS AND MYTHS.

1. ALTHOUGH there is no "legendary period," strictly so-called, preceding the development of Buddhism into a religious system, yet, as it has come down to us, it is mixed up with legends and myths, which have accumulated with its growth, and which now cannot be separated from it. To get a clear idea of the whole system, we must represent it accompanied with these outgrowths of ages ; and if they distort its original character, and deprive it of the interest which certainly belongs to it as a religion, yet we shall have the advantage of being able to judge of it as a whole, and also be prepared to understand the condition of the people who accept it as a complete revelation of truth, and a sufficient provision for their religious necessities.

We possess two works in Chinese which will sufficiently supply materials for this purpose. The first professes to be an orderly account of the Buddhist Kosmos, written by a priest, Jin-ch'au, of Pekin, and published by the Emperor Wan-leih, of the Ming dynasty, A.D. 1573.[1]

The second is a legendary history of Buddha himself, with some notices respecting his successors. This is also written by a native priest, Wang-Puh, and included by the same Emperor Wan-leih in his collection of sacred books, although Wang-Puh himself lived in the time of the Tang dynasty, 650 A.D.

[1] The great value of this work consists in its resting on the authority of the Buddhist canon, and on commentaries written by Indian priests of great learning.

Both these writers adopted the teaching of the Swâbhâvika school of Buddhism, which is that generally accepted in China. This school holds the eternity of Matter as a crude mass, infinitesimally attenuated under one form, and expanded in another form into the countless beautiful varieties of Nature. Its symbol is the Lotus, surmounted by a peculiar emblem generally known as the "trisul," or Trident. This symbol was evidently borrowed from an earlier figure, which was designed to represent the Sun with a flame, or the empyræan, above it. The idea was to denote the succession of heavens passing away into the highest heaven of pure flame. The sun emblem was called Sûramani[1] or Sun-gem; but when the Swâbhâvikas adopted the Lotus as their symbol of self-generation, they termed the ornament the Padma-mani or Lotus gem, and formulated their belief in the mysterious sentence so often found in Chinese and Thibetan works: "Om! mani padme," or, "Oh! the jewel (of creation) is in the Lotus."[2] In accordance with the principles of this belief, Jin-ch'au represents the field of creation under the form of a succession of Lotus system of worlds, each embracing the other, till the mind is lost in the attempt to multiply the series infinitely. The whole of these systems again he includes within one universally diffused essence, which, for want of a better word, is called the "Heart," but which, in fact, corresponds to the soul of the universe, the all-pervading Self or the "All in all" of pure Pantheism.[3]

Wang Puh seems to have held similar views. His commentators at least speak of Sakya's incarnation as a transition of the universal into the definite, or as the manifesta-

[1] Called by Hodgson, "Chúrá Mani" (*Sketch of Buddhism*, n. 6); and by the Burmese "Soolamanee" (*J.R.A.S.*, 1870, p. 409); and by the Chinese "Tsioh-li" (*Travels of Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. 202).

[2] There seems to be much agreement between this school of Buddhism and the Atomic school of Greek philosophy; the latter using the terms τὸ πλῆρες and τὸ κενὸν in the same sense as the former employ prakriti and sunyata.

[3] I know not how to express the reiteration of this belief found in Chinese Buddhist books better than in the few words attributed to

tion of a latent energy residing in the universally diffused essence. All this is in agreement with the general belief of the school; a school, be it remembered, which represents the final accommodation of a very complex system, and which may be regarded as a reaction against the absurdities of nihilism, and an escape from the supposed impossibility of a Theistic belief in creation.

Jin-Ch'au calls his book "The Buddhist Kosmos, with illustrations."[1] The expression "Fah-kai" is a well-known one to signify the limits or elements of Dharma (dharma dhatu), where Dharma is the same as Prakriti, or Matter itself. Much confusion would have been avoided if this sense of Dharma, when used by writers of the Swâbhâvika school, had been properly observed. As an instance of this, we may remark that the title of the work translated by Burnouf, *The Lotus of the Good Law*, has no reference whatever to the moral law, or any law considered as a code of instruction. The object of the Sutra is to exhibit the infinite extent of the Lotus creation, in every part of which innumerable Buddhas reside, attended by their retinue of Bôdhisatwas; and the appearance of these Buddhas and Bôdhisatwas in the world or system over which Sakya Tathâgata is supposed to preside, is designed to signify the vast honour paid to our Buddha by the countless others who are manifested throughout the field of space. Had this design of the Sûtra been observed, there would have been no occasion for such a remark as the following:—"Voilà déjà bien des détails extravagants et tout à fait inutiles, puisque l'exposition de la Loi promise par le Lotus n'est pas donnée."[2] For, in truth, the exposition promised

Zwinglius, who taught "that God was the infinite essence, absolute Being" (τὸ *Esse*). The being of creatures, he said, was not opposed to the Being of God, but was in and by Him. Not man only, but all creation was of Divine race. Nature was the force of God in action, and everything is One (Origin and Development of Religious Belief, by S. B. Gould, p. 266).

[1] In Chinese, *Fah-kai-on-lih-to.* [2] *Le Buddha et sa Religion*, p. 70.

was not of any doctrinal character, but of creation (as we call it) or the mode of existence exhibited in the infinite varieties of worlds evolved from the unusually diffused essence. The sense of Jin-Ch'au's "Fah-kai," then, is just this: "the natural world"; the remaining portion, "on lih," means "an orderly arrangement;" and I regard this whole phrase, "an orderly arrangement of the worlds of nature," to be equivalent to our term, the "Kosmos." Adding to this the last symbol "to," signifying "illustrated," we have the whole title—"The Buddhist Kosmos Illustrated."[1]

The treatise written by Wang-Puh is entitled, "Shing Tau ki," that is, "Memorials of the complete inspiration of Tathâgata. The expression, "Shing Tau," is the common one used to denote the attainment of perfection, viz., that of Bôdhi, or Reason, by a Buddha. In this case it is the perfection of Sâkya Buddha, which occurred under the Sacred Tree at Gayâ, that is recorded. The work is written in the style common in India at an early date; it consists of sutras or aphorisms,[2] couched in the most enigmatical language, which would be wholly inexplicable without the commentary appended. From the character of the work it is highly probable that Wang Puh selected his sentences from the earliest version of the Life of Buddha, known in China, viz., that of the Lalita Vistara, entitled "Fang-teng-pen-ki-king," made about the year 65 of our era.[3] His

[1] I am thus particular in stating the sense of these words, as I find that Prof. C. F. Neumann, in his *Catechism of the Shamans*, has more than once alluded to the work under consideration, and translated its title by "*Tables of the Religion.*" I am persuaded that until we arrive at a more correct estimate of Buddhist phraseology, we shall fail to exhibit the religion in its true aspect.

[2] I observe that this Life of Sâkya is sometimes spoken of as being composed in dithyrambic metre. The aphorisms are however distinctly prose.

[3] The classification of this work under the head "ki" or "Memorials" may indicate, however, that it was a Vyâkarana, or narrative work, containing the traditions of Buddha's life, derived immediately from India.

commentators evidently lived at a late date, probably in the reign of Wan-leih, 1573 A.D.

A word more may be said to explain the marked differences which occur between these works and the Singhalese expositions of Buddhist doctrine. And yet, in the Chinese, constant reference is made to works derived from Ceylon, and of the highest authority there; such as the four Agamas, the Brahmajâla, and many others. The doctrine of a universally diffused and self-existing essence of which matter is only a form, seems to be unknown in the Southern schools. It would appear, therefore, that there has been no advance in the Southern philosophical code since the date of Nagasena, who was a strenuous opponent of the Swâbhâva theory.[1] The ruling thought in his mind was that called "scholastic nihilism"—a hard logical conclusion against all moral instinct, that nothingness is the only reality. To this he was driven by stern necessity from the premisses he adopted; and to this theory, which is necessarily atheistic, the Singhalese and their neighbours seem still to adhere. Northern Buddhism, therefore, whilst it rests on precisely the same religious or moral basis as that known in the South, is distinct from it in its philosophy or scholastic theories, and therefore requires distinct consideration.

[1] At least, so it appears from the "Sûtra of one Sloka" written by him.

Part I.—THE BUDDHIST KOSMOS.

1. The whole range of Buddhist speculation is included in the seven divisions of the present treatise.[1] The method adopted in it, is to advance from the teaching of the schools to the teaching of inspiration—from the tangible to the spiritual, and so to present the whole subject under one scheme. In this way, like a man who advances gradually into the ocean, finds the depth constantly increasing, so we shall find by this method that there is no bound to the universe, no limit to the forms of life, no possibility of exhausting the varied manifestations of Supreme mind in external phenomena. Thus we arrive at the conviction that substantial existence and the various forms of life we see around us, are not fundamentally different—that the latter are but modes (uses) of the existence of the former—and so, in fine, that there is only one great concurrent origin of all that exists. Hence the Scripture says: "To conclude that there are, independent of Supreme mind, objects of knowledge, which are able, in connection with mind, to act as concurrent occasions for the production of thought; all this is but the exercise of mind itself, and may be considered as one manifestation of its substantial existence. When we speak of varieties of Form, we do but postulate the varieties of knowledge (Prajña); when we speak of the absence of phænomena, it is but that Reason (Prajña) is at Rest (*i.e.*, undeveloped or not hypostatised)."

2. Now, with regard to the cause of the manifestation of Buddha in the form of man, we say this, the remote cause is to be found in the wretched condition of mankind, and of all sentient existence; but the immediate concurrent cause in the force of his exceeding love.

3. When Buddha undertook the task of saving the world

[1] This of course will be understood to be a translation from the Chinese of Jin Ch'au.

(benefiting the world) the period was called Bhadra Kalpa. Now, what does this expression signify? It denotes the period of the approaching perfection of the great system of worlds. The overspreading ocean then produced a thousand-leafed Lotus, golden-coloured and resplendent. The Dêvas of the Pure Abodes (Suddhavâsa Dêvas), beholding it, exclaimed, "Oh, wonderful portent! now will there be manifested a thousand successive Buddhas." For this reason the Kalpa or age is called Bhadra Kalpa. Now Sakya Muni Tathâgata is the fourth Buddha of this Kalpa. This is our great Teacher. He is the instructor of this Sahalôkadhâtu (*i.e.*, collection of worlds known as a great Chiliocosm).

4. The territory ruled over by Buddha is called, as we have just stated, the Sahalôkadhâtu.[1] The old Sûtras, however, call this Sarvalôkadhâtu. It is what is called in the sacred writings the territory of Patient Beings.[2] This name is given it because the men who inhabit it are able to bear sorrow by the exercise of reflection, and to derive pleasure from the powers of their reason. Buddha, for this cause, presides over it. Around this domain there is an encircling range of iron mountains, beyond which is the unfathomable void of space. Below the mountain range is the earth circle, below the earth is gold, below the gold is water, below the water is wind. This wind has a mysterious consistency, which renders it harder than diamond. It is like the imperishable power of Karma (works), which governs the destiny of men. It holds the world so that it can never be moved. Beyond this region of wind is æther. With regard to the measurement of this system, the highest point of all, where Form no longer exists, is called "the limit of that which Is" (Bhavâgra. Lotus, 309). Laterally, no numbers will adequately express its dimensions. According to the Djñâna Prasthâna Shaster,[3] "a great rock thrown

[1] *Introd. to Indian Bud.*, p. 594.
[2] Compare *Dhammapada*, vii, 95. "Tolerant like the earth."
[3] Chi-lun. A work by Kâtyâyana, in full, Abidharma djñâna prasthâna Shâstra.

down from the Rupa Lôka, after 18382 years, would approach the earth in which we live." But speaking in brief, this entire region, from the earth upwards, is that over which one Buddha rules. Within the encircling mountains there are a thousand myriad sets of four empires (*i.e.*, worlds). With regard to the one in which we live, the chief continent of this earth is called Jambudwîpa, which is divided into two parts, viz., China on the East, and India on the West.[1]

5. India, which derives its name from being like the moon among the stars, is bounded on the north by the Snowy Mountains, and on three sides is washed by the Ocean. It is narrow towards the south, like the moon in its first quarter. Its circuit about 90,000 li. It has more than 7000 great cities, and within the limits of the sea it is all governed by one king.

6. The entire continent of Jambudwîpa may be generally classed under five divisions. The middle division is the region of the Tsung Ling and the Snowy Mountains. The southern division includes the five Indias. This is the territory formerly governed by one Golden-wheel King. The people who inhabit it are descended from the Brahma Dêvas. It is called, in common conversation, the "heavenly region"; it is also spoken of as the country of the Brahmans. The western division of Jambudwîpa comprises the various countries of Turkhâra and Persia. The people who inhabit these countries are commonly known as "Western Barbarians." The northern division includes the countries of the various tribes of the Yuchi, the Turks, the Usun, and the Huns. The eastern division consists of two parts: 1st, the territory to the west of the Sandy Desert, inhabited by the Thibetan tribes of the Yuchis; 2nd, to the eastward of the Tsih Rock, the people of China. We ought, therefore, carefully, to distinguish between the Brahman people and the

[1] Here follow two sections on the Geography of China and India, the latter taken almost verbatim from the Si-yu-chi. These accounts I omit.

mixed tribes of the North known as Hu. It is a great error to speak of these last as living in India. There are others, again, who speak of the Sûtras as written in the Hu language, and of the Hu speech as though it were the same as that of the Sanscrit. This is not right; they ought to say Sanscrit books, and Sanscrit language.

7. In reference to China being the middle country, there can be in reality no such distinction as middle or frontier, in respect of the beneficence of the great lawgiver (King of the Law. Dharmarâjah). The operation of the energy that results in phænomenal existence can admit of no defined limits, how much less the diffusion of the sacred doctrine. A dark cloud may indeed for a time obscure the brightness of the sun, and the pouring rain may destroy the young plants, and cause much evil; yet in the unclouded vault of heaven his brightness remains undiminished, and it is only the enshrouding clouds that prevent his rays from reaching the earth. So let us once remove that which clouds our faith, and separates us from the Sun, and the bright rays of His great love will be impartially diffused. This opinion that China is the middle country, and that beyond the nine provinces all are outside barbarians, is not a correct view of the case. We may understand this by looking at the map of the Western regions (or the work Si-yu-to). Yet, for the sake of those who are ignorant, I will proceed to illustrate this fact by adducing nine principal reasons from various Sûtras and Shastras, in which the superior excellence of India is plainly exhibited:

(1.) The superior reputation of India. The Pen-hing-king[1] says, "The Bôdhisatwa Prabhâpâla,[2] addressing the Dêva Kin-twan, said, 'Whenever Bôdhisatwa has been born, previous to his arrival at complete perfection as Buddha, it has ever been customary to see that the family of his parents possess the sixty qualifications of merit, and during three generations have been free from any pollution or impurity!

[1] The first version of the *Lalita Vistara*.

[2] That is, Buddha previous to his incarnation.

Go, then! descend to Jambudwîpa, and find such a family for me, that I may be born, and become a supreme Buddha.' Kin-twan replied: 'The city of Kapila, the sovereign called Suddhôdana, his wife, the queen, called Mâyâ, possessing complete merit and perfectly pure, in this family Bôdhisatwa may be born.' Prabhâpâla replied: 'It is good! I will be born, as you say, of those parents.'" Buddha having made this selection, the Dêvas heard of it, and at once recognised the supreme excellency of the country of Kapila, the centre of all the kingdoms of Jambudwîpa.[1]

(2.) From actual measurement. The extent of the entire world is scarcely to be ascertained by any human science. For who, from the earliest times till now, has ever reached the limits of the great north-western Ocean? How, then, is it possible to fix the exact middle point of the earth? But yet men are fond of talking about the "middle country," and say that this quarter in which we live is really the middle of the earth. But it certainly is not so. According to Chow-Kung,[2] when he measured the heavens and the earth he determined Yu-cheou[3] to be the middle point. He reported that on each side of this 5000 li would bring to the boundaries of the earth. But it is evident that from Yu to the Eastern sea is not so much as 5000 li, whilst to the West and North there is no calculating how many ten thousand li it is to the end of the earth, and yet Chow-Kung says it is only 5000 li. Again, Yu-kung[4] says that there are only 2,500 li from the centre to the limits of the earth! In that case the earth must have been narrower in his time, and afterwards gradually expanded. In the time of the Han dynasty we find 9000 li fixed as the limit. And now it is still going on increasing! At present it is stated "that the

[1] The Pou-yao-king, i. e. the second Chinese version of the *Lalita Vistara*, is in agreement with this account.

[2] The brother of Wu Wang, the first emperor of the Chow dynasty, 1122 B.C.

[3] In Shantung, probably the same as Yu-e of the Shu-king. Vide *Chinese Repos.*, Dec. 1840.

[4] Ta-yu of the Hea dynasty?

great earth is 280,000 li in circuit, and therefore 90,000 li in diameter." If, then, we set off a line from east to west 90,000 li in length, and divide this into nine parts, we shall find that the division including China, is at the extreme East, so that eight divisions will remain for the regions to the west of China. And it will be found, moreover, that India occupies the middle of the fifth division. From either side of this, therefore, to the sea, will be 45,000 li. Hence it will be seen that our country is situated towards the eastern limit of the great earth, and that India is in the middle. Here the case is plain to demonstration.

(3.) With reference to the Mountain kings.[1] All the mountains of the world sprang from the Kwan-Lun range. These are by far the highest and most extensive mountains of the earth. The different peaks that rise from this range embrace a circuit of ten thousand li, and more. Here the Nâga Dêvas dwell, inaccessible to man! The various offshoots of this mountain system give rise to other ranges. Just like the shoots which spring from each side of the bamboo, so do all these mountains spring from and depend on the central range of the Kwan-Lun. To the left, or eastern side, there are numerous branches; but one especially, stretching across the sandy desert to the Tsih Rock,[2] originates all the mountains of China. Another branch, stretching to the sea, is the parent of the mountains of Eastern India, and, still stretching eastward, it ends in the various mountains of the Barbarian countries. On the right, or western side, the mountains stretch away into Western India, the Hwoh country (Ghoûr, bordering on the Oxus) and Persia. The front, or southern face of these mountains, consists of the Black Mountains (Hindukoosh), the Snowy range (Himavat), and all the hills of North India, stretching out and giving birth to all the hills of Central India. The northern face consists of the Tsung-ling range, which ori-

[1] i. e. the highest systems of mountains. The Pabbata Râjahs of the Singhalese.

[2] Asmakûta, Jnl. iii, 430. This rock is marked in Chinese maps as bordering on the Koko-nor.

ginates the mountains of the Northern Tartars. Thus it is all the ranges fly off in spurs from the high and central mountain system of the Kwan-Lun. And from this we conclude that these mountains are in the centre of the earth, and the five Indies all lie to the south. (In common books the name of Kwan-Lun is given to an eastern range of the Snowy Mountains.)

(4.) With respect to the central origin of the Rivers. The nature of water is to descend. So that we must look for the origin of all rivers in the highest mountains, and their disappearance in the ocean. At the top of the Himavat range is a lake occupied by a great Dragon, more than a thousand li in circuit. This is the common origin of all the rivers of the world. One great river flows from each side of this lake. The breadth of each river is forty li. The rushing torrents take a course towards the four cardinal points, and each, dividing itself into five hundred lesser streams, disappears in the Ocean. Thus, from the eastern side of the lake all the rivers of the East proceed, and so on. Now, with respect to the shape of the earth, it may be compared to that of a gourd or calabash, the top of which is the extreme summit of the Himavat Mountains, descending from which the whole earth gradually widens out. China then drains the eastern watershed of this system, and is therefore the extreme eastern portion of the world. So we gather again that India is the middle country, corresponding with the central origin of the rivers.

(5.) In reference to the Navel of the earth. The Brahmajâla Sutra[1] says, " Sakya Muni Buddha, at the Bôdhi mandala, seated on a royal diamond throne, resplendent and beautiful." Again the Saddharma prâkasa sâsana Sutra[2] says, " All the Jambudwîpas throughout the universe possess a diamond throne, the origin of which is eighty-four thousand yojanas below the surface of the earth. All the Buddhas seated on these thrones arrive at Supreme Wisdom. Hence no other country but Jambudwîpa can possibly possess a Buddha." The Si-yu-chi says, " In central India, south of

[1] In Chinese, Fan wang-king. [2] In Chinese, Tching-fah-nim-chu-king.

the Ganges, is the country Magadha, in the south-west part of which, across the Nairañjana river, about ten li, is the Bôdhi-tree. Underneath this tree is a Diamond throne, the thousand Buddhas seated here enter the diamond Samadhi (ecstasy)." The Kosha Shaster says, "This throne reaches down to the Diamond wheel (circle) below the earth, and it is therefore termed the "Diamond throne." All the Buddhas of the three ages have perfected wisdom and conquered Mâra, seated on this throne." So we conclude this spot represents the navel of the earth.

(6) In reference to the Wheel-Kings. Men who exceed all others in virtue are born in a superior country. Now those called golden-wheel kings are the most exalted in this particular, among all the inhabitants of Jambudwîpa—they are the most sacred of absolute Sovereigns. The golden wheel, therefore, is their symbol; seven precious possessions compose their regalia, illustrious marks on their persons proclaim their dignity, whilst they are surrounded by a thousand ministers (sons). The royal dragon-horse flying through space proclaims to each of the tributary kings of the four continents that a Chakravartin[1] is born, and exhorts them to virtue and renewed devotion of life. So then the wheel-king, when born, appears in the Middle country, and this Middle country is just the same as mid-India, where so many generations of wheel-kings have been born. This country, therefore, is of supreme excellence.

(7.) In reference to Sanscrit letters. These letters are like the old seal characters amongst us. They have remained the same from the creation of the world, unchanged through successive myriads of years. In this respect they differ from any letters we possess, for both the seal and the square characters with us have undergone numerous changes. The Sanscrit letters were originally imparted to men by Brahma (Fan tien), hence the books are called Brahma Books. Both gold and silver-wheel kings have transmitted

[1] That is, a wheel king, or universal monarch—one who rules all within the *circle* of rocks supposed to surround the world.

their use to the present age. Therefore ghosts and demons hasten from the spot where Sanscrit books are kept. At the time when Sanscrit words are repeated in religious recitations the Kwei-shin (spirits) reverently attend. For who would not be impressed with reverence at hearing the illustrious words (gem words) used by heavenly kings? For this reason all the Buddhas in delivering the Law have used Sanscrit words. The eight classes of Dragons and monsters of the deep, uttering these words obtain spiritual enlightenment. The sounds which possess such remarkable virtue are embodied in these words, and their use is fully explained and illustrated in the Books of Dhârani.[1] For example, by the repetition of the sound "ho" we enter Samadhi. By carefully looking at (contemplating) the circle surmounting the letter (anusvâra?) we obtain enlightenment. The sound "Om" pronounced during worship is an acceptable offering to all the Buddhas. The sound Hri is able to dispel every sorrow and purify every corrupting influence. The foolish may thus obtain wisdom. The short-lived may prolong their days. The diseased obtain health, simply in the use of these Sanscrit Books. Of the sixty-four principal kinds of writing in the world, then, the chief and best is the Sanscrit; the second is that used in Kourudwîpa (the northern continent), besides which there are the lotus letters, the tree-leaf books, the Yau-sun, the Chih-chun, and so through the sixty-four;—but the Sanscrit is the sovereign language in literature.

(8.) In reference to pleasantness of Climate. The admixture of heat and cold differs according to the locality. High places are cold, low and swampy neighbourhoods are moist, thus the differences occur. The most agreeable climate is that which possesses a moderate and equable temperature, and as we lose this, and experience extremes of heat and cold, we are inconvenienced. So it is the extreme south is intensely hot, and the extreme north bitterly cold; the coast is windy and damp, and the mountainous regions of

[1] In Chinese, Tsung-chi-king, *i.e.*, the Book or Sûtra of Collects.

the southern barbarous tribes pestilential and sickly. The ground when too wet, becomes boggy, and when too dry, sandy. If the water is impure the fountains and wells are poisoned, and so there are no limits to the ill effects of these differences of climate. In India, however, the heat of summer is not too great, and the cold of winter is not too severe—the four seasons are all moderate and agreeable. Add to this the beauty of the birds, the scent and lovely hues of the Divine flowers,[1] the variety of the trees,[2] the sweet tasting fountains, the medicinal lily roots of the Dragon Lake,[3] and we see how perfect must be the climate that nourishes these various and choice products.

(9.) With respect to the Reasonable Medium. We should naturally expect to find the middle land in possession of the true medium, in point of doctrine. For if not, how would it differ from the frontier countries? For even the great teachers of our own land (flowery land) have been able to express themselves as follows:—"To govern the people according to reason, the secret of this is 'measure'."[4] "To grasp firmly, that is the medium method." "Use the middle method in dealing with the people." "What is the due medium but

[1] Hionen Thsang of the Tang dynasty had collected some seeds of the Divine Flower, but in crossing the Ganges the wind blew them away. He doubted not this was owing to the watchful jealousy of the Dragons. Ch. Ed.

[2] The musical bamboo, known as that of Kai-kuh. It was to the valley of Kai-kuh that Hwang Ti (according to the Han Records) sent, and procured the bamboo out of which he made musical instruments. Ch. Ed.

There are other trees named in the text, such as the tree of the medicine-king (Baisajya râjah), the touch of which produces health, and which grows in the Snowy Mountains. The scented oil-plant, which also grows in the Snowy Mountains, and causes the milk of the oxen to be rich as essential oil, and their droppings to be sweet as incense.

[3] When Buddha was alive, a Bikshu being sick, procured from the Dragon of the Snowy Mount Lake a lily root, about one foot long and of a sweet taste, which instantly restored him to health.

[4] Μέτριον—*le juste milieu—das mass.* Vide *Philebus*, § 155. *Platonic Dialogues.* ii. 318 (Whewell).

the great Reason[1] of the world: let the states of equilibrium and harmony exist in perfection and a happy order will prevail throughout heaven and earth, and all things will be nourished and flourish."[2] Now, if worldly sages can deliver such wise sentences, how much more our Great Teacher who was separated from the world? or rather how could he avoid coming into the world Himself, to exhibit to men and exemplify in himself this profound doctrine? Therefore our perfectly wise Sâkya was born in the middle land, and was manifested to men by the possession of superlative excellencies of person. He opposed error by the declaration of the true law of the just medium,[3] and illuminated the world by his teaching. How different this method from the general practice of mere worldly philosophers (sophists). These reject the only true stand-point, and concern themselves about mere empty results—having not yet arrived at Divine wisdom. They speak indeed of knowledge, and talk of mental illumination—but they do but deceive themselves and others. They would have all men resemble themselves, and so teach them to despise those who differ from them. They embrace a certain opinion, and in doing so, scorn the opposite. Hence result all sorts of dogmatic assertions and contradictions; hence come the opposing qualities of love and hatred, partialities for what is declared only right, in contradiction to what is called wrong, and the whole sequence of punishment and reward (or, crime and merit). But our perfectly illuminated sage came in pity to instruct the world, to harmonise these opposing sentiments and produce peace. To nourish and strengthen! to rescue and save! to provide a safe standing-ground for those who

[1] In the *Chung Yung*, cap. I, § 4, it is "tai pen" instead of "Tai tau."

[2] *Chung Yung*, cap. I, § 5.

[3] Jin Ch'au evidently adopted the views of the Madhyamika school. The medium or middle is not what is called "moderation," but is used in a philosophical sense to denote the Truth, which always lies between the two conditions of "Yes" and "No"—"I" and "not I"; the compromise, in fact, of the two states of "becoming."

profess to teach, and to enable them in their differences to return to the great fountain of rest. He came to dissipate these wild and confusing theories—to persuade men to lay aside their perverse modes of argument—to fall in with the great method of proof and to embrace fundamental verities. So, step by step he led them to the most exalted, the most comprehensive, the most spiritual, the most excellent (wisdom), and, in the end, to the just principle of the true medium and all its consequences. Men, indeed, differ naturally in their capacities for receiving truth, and therefore the different views of truth common in the world. Some insist on the reality of matter; some say that all is void. Those who maintain the first view, stop short of truth, those who uphold the second, flow onwards in the right direction; but neither of them is absolutely right, for true wisdom in healing words declares "Matter and void are one, and void is one with matter." Here is the declaration of non-difference, this is the reconciling medium. Again, some advocate the opinion that all things are (of the) same (nature); others say they are different: the first is an incomplete theory, the second an indistinct one, but the healing words say "The identity of things is the identity of differences, and the difference of things is the difference of identities." Opposing identity and opposing differences, under this one view, is the true medium. Again, there are some who maintain the truth of phænomenal appearances (tchu fah, yé damma), others who say they are nothing; some who say they are constant, others who make them intermittent; some speak of their vast extent, others of their limited existence; some who say they are but individually perceived, others who maintain they are general or universal; some say they are infinite, others say they are definite; some say they are alike, others that they are conflicting, and various other distinctions;—but amid the many mountain passes the sheep are lost—wandering from the right path, they cannot return! Our all-wise Master, in explanation, therefore, said—"By hampering

phænomena with conditions, men have come to talk about "true" and "false"; but the man with a cataract on his eye necessarily has imperfect vision: a man sees water, but a demon believes it to be fire; but yet the nature of water is uniform (and he illustrates this subject by various comparisons, such as)—the folly of the child who supposes he can touch the moon, the foolish dog and the shadow (?), the insanity of Yajñadatta in thinking he had lost a part of his head because he only saw a part of it in the Temple mirror, the man hastening to the East thinking it was the West, and in many other ways; but let the delusion be once corrected, and right Reason comes of itself."[1] Again he said—"just as the master of a ferry-boat remains stationary on neither shore, but is continually passing across the stream with passengers (so there is truth on both sides)." Again he says, "the principle of Supreme Reason may be compared to a shepherd who takes his crook to watch over the cattle to prevent them from wandering this way or that"; and again—"like a man on horseback with the reins in his hand, if his steed lags in his pace then he twitches the reins to make him go on, if he is too fast he tightens the reins to make him go slower, but as he goes at a moderate pace he holds the reins easily in his hands"; or again—"like the potter tempering his clay, he makes it neither too stiff nor too thin, so that, centering it on the wheel, he may make of it a useful vessel." Again, he compared his method of teaching to the art of the musician, who takes care that the strings of his lute are neither too tight nor too slack," etc. Thus the Master, according to the various characters of the disease, administered his remedies far and wide: he observed the medium in all things; in practical duties and in mental exercises; in common matters and weighty matters; in advancing and in staying; in little things and great; in beginning a subject and finishing; in arriving at a climax and in rounding an argument; he adopted medium rules of con-

[1] These comparisons are taken from the Surañgama Sutra (which see).

duct, a medium method of fixed composure, a medium wisdom, a medium contemplation, a medium method of action, a medium system of "cause and effect,"—just as the Mani gem reflects the beautiful colours of the sun, or the mountain dell re-echoes the true sound of the voice. And he exemplified his doctrine in the various rules he imposed relating to food and clothing, and his directions about walking, halting, sitting, sleeping, etc. In all things, whether small or great, as he taught others so he himself practised not to exceed the due medium. Hence, he only took one meal a-day, and so required the Bikshus not to eat after mid-day, and in eating not to take too little or too much. He limited their garments to three, neither too gaudy nor too mean: when walking he directed them to use an unaffected gait; when sitting to cross the legs in a becoming manner; and to adopt a natural demeanour, neither too precise nor too complaisant. In self-government he enforced a discipline neither too severe nor too careless; to avoid abstraction on the one hand, and superficiality on the other. To speak not of entering on or emerging from a state of ecstacy; but whilst passionless to be ever actively useful, and whilst actively useful to be ever passionless. Constantly to refer the existence of external phænomena to the one essence (heart), and thus ever aiming at a middle line of conduct to enter the sea of the Reasonable Medium. Blessed, indeed, to arrive at this condition and rest therein! So, rejecting such terms as obedience and disobedience, regarding enemies and friends as the same, discarding the usual way of speaking of things as identical and different, unitising life and death, reconciling the Not I (the external) with the I (the personal), combining in one view the past and present, hypostatising space, regarding the field of creation (mountains and seas) as unoriginated (hair origin, i. e., like the hair of the tortoise), exhibiting under one aspect motion and rest, silence and utterance, overflowing with sympathy to all creatures,—thus it was our Master taught! How entirely different to worldly wisdom, and its

yearnings after abstraction! In coming our Master appeared in the middle (country?), and therefore he is called "rightly come" (Tathâgata); in going, he went from the middle (region?), and therefore he is called "rightly gone" (Sugata). He came from the middle as from a state of rest; he went from (or to) the middle as from a state of activity. Thus opposed to both conditions of rest or activity, he can neither be said to have come or have gone. This, indeed, is hard to understand: opposed to action and rest, yet at the same time active and at rest; neither coming nor going, yet both come and gone. This is the mysterious character of the universally diffused Nature (essence): not coming, yet come; although born, yet not taking a distinct substance; not going, yet gone; though dying, yet not ceasing to be. So that no mere words can express this wisdom of our Tathâgata; it cannot be predicated in such expressions as action and rest, coming and going, being and not being, birth and death. This wisdom defies number, rejects antitheses or agreements, is unfathomable, inconceivable, and beyond all description for excellence! Now, there are some men who live by rivers that will not credit that sea-water is salt; but only let them take one spoonful and let them try it, then they know that the whole is of similar taste;—but yet it cannot be said that they have exhausted the ocean by tasting this one spoonful!

(8.) Respecting the Rishis or Genii. The Rishis (sien) are so called because they change (tsien) their appearance. They are spiritual beings in the form of men; they have the power to translate or change themselves into other bodies without dying. The common name for them is "sien." They have various characters and powers. There are heavenly Rishis, spirit Rishis, human Rishis, and demon Rishis. Some wander amongst men, some seek the deep mountain caves (such as Tien-Toi, Kw'ang Lu, Ku-shan, Chung-nan and others); some live in the isles of the sea (as at Pung-lai, Ying-cheou, Lung-yuen, and so on); some live under the earth. All of them are capable of living for a long time

without fear of death. In old times men spoke of these Rishis as frequently seen. In fact, from the natural love of long life which men have, and fear of early death, they spoke of every one who lived upwards of a hundred years or so, as being a Rishi; how much more should those be called so who lived thousands of years! And yet there is no permanence even in these cases, for they only "live long," which is very different from "not dying." Compared with the life of men, such beings may be indeed called long-lived, but, compared with Dêvas, their life is short indeed. The years of Dêvas extend over many kalpas, compared to which those of the Rishis are but as the life of the May-fly. This mode of existence, therefore, though excellent, is not so desirable as that of the Dêvas. The Dêvas, although more excellent, cannot be compared to the condition of the Buddhas (holy men) who, during countless kalpas, are ever joyous, assured of the non-recurrence of birth or death throughout eternity.

The Avatañsaka Sutra says: "Spirit-Rishis dwell in the mountains. Human Rishis live amongst men." (Heavenly Rishis dwell on the seven golden mountains.) The Surañgama Sutra says: "Buddha declared that there are men who practise the power of spiritual ecstasy (samadhi), without any reliance on supreme wisdom (Bôdhi). These adopt vain repetitions, and so preserve for themselves bodily shapes. They wander among the mountains and forests, and places inaccessible to man. There are ten kinds of such beings: 1. earth-walkers, who make use of prepared food, for the purpose of perfection; 2. space-flyers, who study the virtues of trees and plants, for the purpose of perfecting themselves in the use of medicines (by means of which their bodies are so light that they can fly). 3. Wanderers, who study the nature of gold and stones, to perfect themselves in the art of transmutation (by the use of cinnabar they pretend to change stones into gold). 4. Those who suppress the action of their vital functions (and unconsciously lose their bodily shapes, and pass invisibly through

space). 5. Heavenly-ones, who gain the mastery over their fluid secretions (and so become perfectly pure). 6. Air-like, who, by purifying and subliming their substance, become intangible (clothed with the rainbow, drinking dew, their essence purified, they become like air). 7. Magicians, who, by certain incantations, are able to alter their condition at will. 8. Luminous-ones, who, by practising severe thought, perfect their memory (and produce a lambent flame from the top of their head, and by severe contemplation (*lit.*, observing the navel) refine the pill (*i.e.*, become immortal). 9. Beneficent-ones, who, by sudden intervention, remove difficulties in human affairs. 10. Perfectly-enlightened-ones, who, by constantly studying the system of changes and conversions, become thoroughly illuminated. All these, by human discipline, attain various degrees of sublime knowledge, and extend their lives to a thousand or a myriad years. Dwelling in mountains or islands, beyond the habitations of men, they practise their various modes of life. But yet they are still involved in the wheel of transmigration, and not depending on the true method of emancipation; after their term is expired they will return once more to the various forms of being, who are involved in the net of existence."

Again, how true is the remark of Long-shu (Nagardjuna) the lay disciple (kiu-sse, *i.e.*, grihapati): "We are told about the different kinds of Rishis, and their years of life; but yet all these return to the common lot of constant transmigrations. What comparison, then, is there between this search after long life, and the blessedness of being born in one of the lands (pure lands) of Buddha? Not to prepare for this and to seek after that is to fling away the pure gem, and to search for the common pebble." Again, a certain disciple called Hiang-shan, of the Tang dynasty, alluding to Wang the hermit, says in poetry:

"I hear your Honour, sacrificing food and rest,
Daily expects to hear the spirit Rishis tell
The mode of being changed to more than mortal man,

And how to gain the mystery of lengthening life.
The words 'long life' are but opposed to 'what is short.'
No promise here of quitting birth and death for aye:
How vain the search, then, merely after length of days;
For if your Honour should succeed in gaining it,
And like the fir tree flourish for a thousand years,
Yet, when expired, the flower that lives its little day
Is just as good! both end alike in nothingness!
What use to boast of years as lasting as the moon,
When like the moon we ever tend to self-decay—
The common destiny involved in 'birth and death!'
How different from that birthless state of Mind Supreme
Which never being born can never cease to Be!"

(9.) On faith and unbelief. A want of faith is called doubt, from which the numberless errors that exist in the world are produced. And so, from the absence of doubt, *i.e.*, faith, come all the excellencies (virtues) that exist. Faith is the wide thoroughfare for entering on the path of Wisdom—doubt is the great enemy of Religion. Faith may be compared to a propitious wind wafting a boat down a river; doubt to the whirling eddies of the tide in which a boat, from morning till night, constantly revolves. Hence the Scripture says: "The Medicine-King can cure all diseases, but cannot heal a man already dead; so Buddha can save all sentient creatures, but he cannot rescue men who have no faith." So that the first requisite in arriving at supreme wisdom is faith, just as the irrigation of a field is necessary before the seed sown therein can sink down and germinate. There are three chief reasons why men have not faith; the first is this: they say "how is it possible that beyond this world in which we live, its Sun and Moon, there yet can be other worlds and systems of worlds?" The second is this: they say, "When men are dead, and their bodies corrupted, and their vital spirits dispersed, how is it possible that the soul can rise to happiness, or sink to misery?" The third is this: they say, "It is impossible to believe that any man can attain to the condition of perfect enlightenment (Buddha)"; as much as to say that what the ear or the eye can-

not apprehend ought not to be believed, but ought to be persistently denied. On the same ground men who live in the north ought not to believe that there are merchant ships covering the southern seas, so vast in size that they can carry freights of ten thousand piculs; and men of Kiang-nan ought not to believe that the nomads of the north live day by day under tents capable of sheltering a thousand men. So it is men object to believe in the Paradise of Buddha,[1] and that every good man shall go there and be happy. Whereas they ought rather to say: "That which the eye cannot see, is justly represented as a reward fit for the soul (unearthly reward)."

Now our perfectly wise Teacher, possessed of every superior faculty, acquainted with all the intricacies of life, and knowing the tendencies of all creatures, directed his instruction with a view to man's complete deliverance, and the acquisition of supreme Wisdom. And to this end he taught them to walk as he walked, according to his own words: "Himself perfectly wise, he illuminated others, and so, by wisdom and by practice, he fulfilled himself."

But here it may be objected that this is just what the sages of the Confucian school teach. For what else is that about "exemplifying practical virtue" "so as to renew the people."[2] And hence it is argued "the fundamental principles of both schools are alike." But in certain particulars they widely differ. Consider, for instance, that the Confucian school stops short at mere worldly rules, whereas the followers of Buddha appeal also to religious rules; the former speak only of one world, the latter refer to the existence of countless worlds, and trace all consequent states of being to former conduct in other lives. In these particulars, therefore, the two systems widely differ.

It may be objected again, with respect to the substance of Buddha's doctrine, that whatever is incapable

[1] *Lit.*, the happy lands (kchêtras).

[2] *Tai hiok*, § 4, and chap. ii, § 2.

of ocular demonstration ought not to be credited. But if Buddha warned men against falsehood, how is it possible that he himself spoke falsely? for if men of the world in high places are averse to anything like deceit, lest they should lose their position of trust, how much less could Buddha deceive his followers! His words, therefore, are fully credible, and there is no room for doubt;—and so an old writer says, "If Buddha's words are not credible, then what words can be credited"? The substance, then, of his Doctrine is this, that the spirit or soul is the individual; and the body is the habitation of the soul. As the spirit comes or goes, so the abode of the spirit (*i.e.*, the body) is perfected or destroyed. It may be objected to this that in such a theory there is no room for real birth—it is merely the soul coming into a body; and also, in case of death, it is merely the same soul going and the abode falling to decay. But the fact is, men generally know nothing about this soul—they only think of their bodies—and so are led to desire life and fear death; and so their case is a pitiable one.

But with respect to this soul coming and going, what is the individual character of that which comes and goes? Simply what its former karma has made it. And what is Karma? Nothing but one's works. Just according to what a man does, his soul receives its kind of birth —doing good, it is born in heaven; doing evil, it is born in hell (an asura); and so, doing any of the three kinds of works belonging to the three evil ways, the soul is so born. So we may understand the six ways of birth in the wheel of existence, from which there is no escape. But to this it may still be objected that the spirit or soul in this case is constantly changing, and never remaining in one stay; how, then, can it be the same spirit? But the explanation of this is that the spirit's abode changes according to its Karma; and this Karma forbids any long continuance in one condition, because *it* is always changing: just as a man builds a house for himself—as he makes it so he must dwell in it—or as a man prepares his food and

drink, as he concocts them he must endure the taste. So as we do certain works we receive certain returns—this is the principle of self-causation. We should, therefore, be ever jealous over our actions, seeing the immense consequences that will result to ourselves.

II.—THE HABITABLE WORLD.

1. With respect to the four great continents of which we have already spoken, we will quote from the Dirghâgama Sutra: "To the south of Mount Sume is a continent called Jambudwipa (Chen-fan-tai).[1] This country is narrow towards the south, and wide towards the north; in length and breadth seven thousand yojanas. The men's faces are of the same shape as the country. It has a great tree called Jambu, seven yojanas round, a hundred yojanas high, and fifty yojanas in spread. The people live a hundred years. More die than are born, and many die in comparative youth.

The Abidharma says: "They adopt different styles of dress and personal adornment, and their desires are various, whilst some practise perfect self-denial."

The Hi-shai Sutra[2] says, "To the north of the Great-sea is the Jambu Tree, beneath which is abundance of gold called Jambunada.[2] Its height is twenty yojanas.[3] From the excellent gold found underneath this tree the continent derives its name.

The Nyâya Anusâra Shaster says: "There are two middle-sized continents belonging to this territory: 1. Chamra (inhabited by Rakshasas, according to the New Vibasha Shaster); 2. Varshra. Both these are inhabited by men. (Our

[1] This means the land that has gold; but the Vibâsha Shaster calls it Tchen-po-cheou.

[2] The Sutra of creation. [3] *Vishnu Purana*, p. 168.

[3] Vide *Theories and Legends of the Buddhists*, p. 130.

secular books speak of the shining[1] spiral shells found in these countries; and they say that the men widely differ in appearance from one another. They add also that there are numerous little islands in these seas).

The Dirghâgama Sutra says: "To the east of Mount Sume is a continent called Vidê (Fo-yu-tai, *i.e.*, the Purva Videsa of the Singhalese books). (This word signifies "excellent body". The Lih-Shai calls it Po-tai.) This territory is narrow towards the east and wide towards the west, shaped like a half-moon—nine yojanas in length and breadth. The men's faces are of the same shape as the country. It has a great tree-king called Kadamba,[2] in girth seven yojanas, height a hundred yojanas, and in spread fifty yojanas. The men live two hundred years. They eat fish and flesh. They trade in corn, cloth, pearls, and trinkets; they also have marriage ceremonies.

The Abidharma says: "To the east is Vidhê; the men are full of desires, whilst others practise complete self-denial. They eat things which die of themselves, and kill nothing. They shave the front of their heads, and allow the hair to grow long behind. They wear short lower garments, and wind the upper ones round their persons.

The Nyâya Anusâra Shaster says: "There are two middle-sized islands belonging to this territory, viz., Dêha and Vidêha, both inhabited.

The Dirghâgama Sutra says: "To the west of Mount Sume is a continent called Godhânya[3] (this signifies abounding in oxen. The Vibasha calls it Kiu-to-ni, *i.e.*, Gaûdani. Lalita Vistara, p. 22). This territory is shaped like the full moon, and the men are similarly shaped in face. In length and breadth it is eight thousand yojanas. There is a tree-king called Ghanta,[4] seven yojanas round, a hundred yojanas high, and fifty yojanas in the spread of its branches. The

[1] Vide *Theories and Legends of the Buddhists*, p. 147.

[2] Ka-lam-fau, vide *Vishnu Purana*, p. 168.

[3] Kiu-ye-ni. Singhalese records call it Apara Gódana.

[4] Kin-tai.

men live three hundred years, and trade in oxen, horses, and gems.

The Abidharma says they eat flesh, and kill living animals; they burn the dead, and also bury them. They cultivate their lands. Their marriage ceremonies are the same as those of Jambudwipa. They ornament their hair, which is allowed to grow long; they have both upper and lower garments.

The Nyâya Anusâra Shaster says: "There are two middle-sized islands attached to this continent, viz., Tchega[1] and Krina,[2] both inhabited.

The Hi-Shai Shaster says: "Below the Ghanta-tree is a stone ox, one yojana high, and therefore the continent is called Godhañya."

The Dirghâgama Sutra says: "To the north of Mount Sume is a continent called Uttara.[3] (This means "extremely excellent.") The Vibasha calls it Kurudwipa.[4] It is square-shaped, and so are the faces of its inhabitants. In length and breadth one thousand yojanas. It has a tree-king called Ambala,[5] seven yojanas round, one hundred in height, and fifty in spread. The men live a thousand years; they have no trade, but their life is sustained by implanted vigour. They have no such varieties of land, lake, mountain scenery, or flowers, fruits, and cereals, as we have. The birds sing pleasantly. On each side of the continent is an Anavatâpta lake, from which four great rivers flow. There are no swamps or dangerous hollows, no brambles or prickly plants, no troublesome flies or poisonous insects, but the rice and corn are self-produced, and of exquisite flavour. The warm rays of the Mani gem are sufficient for the purpose of cooking their food; when the food is sufficiently dressed the rays of the gem lose their intense power. There is a wonderful[6] tree in this country, the leaves of which constantly distil heavenly dew (ambrosia); both men and women seek its

[1] Che-kiu. [2] Han li-na. [3] Yuh-tan-yu.
[4] Ku-lu-cheou. [5] Om-po-lo.
[6] A kiuh-kung tree, lit. bending-body tree. Perhaps the kalpa tree of the Singhalese, M.B. 14.

shelter. The fruit of this fragrant tree, when ripe, opens of itself, and provides the people with every kind of garment, vessels, and food. In the rivers are found choice pleasure-boats, to convey all those who seek for such enjoyment in what direction they please. If, on entering the rivers to bathe, they leave their garments on one shore, the boats are always in waiting to convey them to the opposite shore, where fresh garments await them. Whenever they come to one of the fragrant trees, above named, they take whatever delicacy they please, and pass on. There is no sickness here, but they ever retain their youthful looks. Their hair and eye-brows are of a russet colour. When they desire marriage, if after selection the degree of relationship between the two parties is too close, when they seek the shelter of the tree it does not bend down as usual to protect them, and so they separate; but if the marriage is a proper one, then the tree bends down as a canopy over them . . . When they die they are placed in the middle of the four roads, their bodies thoroughly adorned, and then a great bird called Ouwajanka bears away the corpse to another land (beyond the Sakwala mountains). The soil of this country is soft and elastic to the feet. The ground opens of itself to cover everything that is unbecoming. All persons who have previously practised the ten virtues are born here, and after this in one of the Dêva lokas.

The Nyâya Anusâra Shaster says: "There are two middle-sized islands belonging to this continent, viz., Kaurava and Gaurava,[1] both inhabited."

The Hi-shai Sutra says: "The men who live in Jambudwipa are three cubits and a half in height, and the men of the east and west continents the same. The men of the northern continent are seven cubits high."

The Abidharma says: "The men of the southern continent are three and a half cubits high, and some four cubits. Men of the eastern continent eight cubits, of the western continent sixteen cubits."[2]

[1] Kiu-li-po and Kiao-li-po.

[2] The cubit here is the foot of the Chau dynasty, *i.e.*, eight inches.

The Saddharma prâkasa sâsana says: "The men of the northern continent are possessed of extraordinary powers of vision and hearing." [And similar remarks in reference to the other continents.]

The Surañgama says: "Anirouddha[1] could see without eyes. The Nâga Upananda[2] could hear without ears. The Devî Ganga[3] could smell without a nose. Gavampati[4] could taste without a tongue. Sûnyata Dêva could feel without a body. The Great Kasyapa without the sense of knowledge (chitta) could apprehend." (This section exhibits the truth that the senses are not the absolute vehicles of knowledge, but that in certain cases there is a mystic power (miao)[5] which apprehends truth.)

The Vibasha Shaster says: "The men of the four great continents and of the eight middle-sized ones, are all of diminutive size; with respect to the five hundred little isles some are inhabited and some not; and some are the abode of the Asûras."

The Maha[6] Nidana Sutra says: "The superiority of Jambudwipa as a place of birth consists in five particulars:—1. The courage and endurance of its inhabitants; 2. their correct habits of thought;[7] 3. being the birthplace of Buddha; 4. its good karma; 5. its being the land of Brahmans. But the other continents excel Jambudwipa in three particulars:—1. Length of life; 2. superior enjoyments; 3. excellence of soil."

The Agama Sutra says: "The southern continent excels in three particulars:—1. Facility of practising good works, and so securing a favourable karma; 2. the advantage of imitating the pure life of the Brahmans; 3. the opportunity of hearing the instruction of Buddha."

[1] Ho-niu-liu-to. [2] Po-nan-to. [3] Kin-ka-shin-niu. [4] Kiu-fan-po-ti.

[5] The use of the word "miao" in opposition to that which is connected with the senses explains its use in such compounds as miao fah (Saddharma), *i.e.*, the mystic dharma or universe.

[6] So, at least, I take the In-pen-king to be. See this work referred to in Hardy's *Theories and Legends*, p. 91, n.

[7] Samyak drishti, M.B. 498, § 17.

From a comparison of the various Sutras and Shastras, it seems that Jambudwipa excels in the wisdom of its inhabitants, and the other continents, especially the northern one, in material prosperity.

ON THE KARMA THAT LEADS TO BIRTH IN THESE WORLDS.

2. The Agama Sutra says: "King Prasênajit asked Buddha if every Brahman, Tchatriya, Vaisya, and Sudra on returning to life would be born in his own caste." To which Buddha replied: "It is possible it may be so, but the matter stands thus—there are four distinct classifications of men: 1. Those who from bad go to bad; for example, a man born as a chandâla, in a base class, or as a fisherman or a hunter, or any other inferior position, doing just enough to be born at all as a man; if such a man practise evil in his present condition, whether of thought, word, or deed, so that in his next birth he enters one of the evil ways (*i.e.*, as a beast, asura, or demon), then this is called going from bad to bad. 2. Those who go from bad to better; for instance, a man born in a base condition, amongst those who practise every evil work, this man is in a bad state; but if in this condition he himself does right, guarding well his thoughts, words, and actions, then at the end of life he may be born as a Dêva, and this is called going from bad to better. 3. From better to bad; as when a man is born in a wealthy or illustrious family, and yet himself does wickedly, then after death this man shall also be born in one of the evil ways—and this is called going from better to worse. 4. From good to better: as when a man being in a good class of life, still goes on to practise virtue, then at the end of life he is born in heaven—this is called going from good to better."

The Karma[1] Vibhâga Sutra says: "Buddha declared there were ten kinds of works which led to birth in human form: 1, Not to kill; 2, not to steal; 3, not to commit adultery; 4, not to use immoral language; 5, not to equivocate; 6, not to slander; 7, not to lie; 8, not to covet; 9, not to indulge

[1] Nieh-po-cha-pih-king.

anger; 10, not to envy (or indulge partiality). Any one who may fail in the higher precepts of the Shaman, and yet observes these ten rules shall be born again as a man (and according to the completeness of his obedience, the degree of happiness he shall enjoy during his life)."

The Avataṁsaka Sutra says; "With regard to Karma, or the result of works, there are three distinctions: 1, The present and immediate result; 2, the consequent result, in deciding the character of the next birth; 3, the remote result in distant generations."

ON CERTAIN SIGNS AT THE TIME OF DEATH.

3. When a man comes to die, the bodily functions and the mind are clouded and dark. As in a dreamless sleep there is a complete suspension of all active thought. There being no active exercise of mind, there is no consciousness or reflection; and so there is neither sensation nor passion.[1] But still there is a clinging to existence,[2] and this is called the principle (heart) of birth and death (ashta vijnyâna). At this time, according to a man's good works, or bad works, this occult principle ascends or descends, and the body gradually becomes icy cold to the touch. Hence it is the verse (Gâtha) says:

> "If from the summit of the head—a Saint;[3]
> If from the eyes the flame departs—a God;[4]
> A man, if from the heart; a Prêta from the groin;
> A dubious birth from out the knee-pan goes,
> And from the bottom of the feet a birth in Hell."[5]

[1] Vijnyâna or sanscara, Colebrooke, 254. [2] Upadana.

[3] That is "Buddha." [4] That is a Dêva, inferior to the former.

[5] When the eye can no longer see, nor the ear hear, then the other senses cease to act. When the power of thought is gone, then the six sources of knowledge are completely extinct. Whilst the body is warm, however, there yet remains the principle known as "ashta vijñyana"; but when that goes, the body becomes completely cold. Now, if we carefully examine what part of the body remains warm the longest, we may divine what the character of the next birth will be; if the region about the heart remains warm longest, then the person will be born as a man, and so on according to the system of the Gâtha given above. Now men of the world (*i.e.*, those who are not Buddhists) say, that when the body corrupts and the vital spirits are dispersed, what is there

On a certain occasion Buddha spoke thus:[1] "If a man at the end of life, knowing that his hour has come, have clear and distinct thoughts on religious subjects, and with his body washed and his garments properly arranged, thus departs; then if on his person appear any of the distinguishing marks peculiar to Buddha, those present may know assuredly that he has gone at once to be born in Paradise (pure-land). But if a man who reverences Buddha, and has observed the precepts, yet with less thorough purpose, die without any marks either good or bad on his person, but lies as it were in a sleep, and, awaking for a moment, thus departs, this man, not yet wholly freed from the influences of unbelief, shall be born for five hundred years in an external paradise,[2] and afterwards enter on his perfect reward. Again, if a man have encouraged in himself a compassionate and benevolent disposition, and his religious ideas are pure, if his mind hanker not after wealth, or worldly relationship, if his eyes be clear and his face composed, if he be possessed with a desire of heaven, and look forward at some future time to behold me, if his eyes already seem to see the heavenly hosts, and his ears to hear heavenly melody, then shuffling off his body he shall certainly be born as a Dêva. Again, if a man be of a bland and amiable disposition, and have striven to acquire some religious merit, his body undiseased and unblemished, his thoughts directed to the well-being of his parents, or wife, or children, his principles unconfused and clear as to right and wrong. And in this mind, having fairly divided his worldly goods, he die, this man shall be born again in human shape. If again there be a man who stares wildly at his friends, clutches at the air with his hand, continually defiles himself and yet knows it not, his eyes bloodshot, lying with his face downward, sleeping with his body

left that can be born again. They know nothing about this secret principle or power called "ashta vijnyâna." (Ch. Ed.)

[1] Viz., in the Shau-hou-kwo-kai-chu Sutra, but I cannot give the Sanscrit title of this work.

[2] City of doubt, a region bordering on the true Paradise of Amithâba.

doubled up, seeing frightful visions which cannot be told, his senses and mind gone, raving in delirium, this man after death will be born in hell. If, again, there is a man who is continually wetting his lips with his tongue through fever, vexing himself about eating and drinking, talking incoherently about hunger and thirst, and at last opens his eyes suddenly and dies, this man shall be born as a Prêta. Again, if there be a man whose body is affected by an accumulation of diseases, his spirits darkened and paralysed by overhanging clouds, dreading to hear the name of Buddha, ravenous after the taste of flesh, not listening to any words of exhortation, wrapped up in worldly thoughts, sweating from his hands and feet, and every part of his body, jabbering and dribbling, this man when he dies will be born as a beast."

The Surañgama Sutra says: "Buddha thus addressed Ananda:—All sentient creatures are mutually involved in the necessity of birth and death—being born according to the accustomed method, and dying according to the laws of perpetual change. At the end of life, before losing all animal heat, the good and evil deeds of the whole life are summoned up, as it were, in a moment. Those possessed of the best indication of conscience (sanjnya), are immediately provided with wings and fly away to be born in a region above the heavens; as they fly, in the heart arises joy and wisdom, with every holy desire, and already they behold the Buddhas of the ten regions of space, and according to their prayer they find themselves born in one of the pure lands belonging to these Buddhas. If the conscience be less pure, but yet greater in proportion than the passion-Nature, then the flight cannot be sustained long, and the subject of it becomes like one of the winged Rishis. If the two portions of one's nature be equally developed (*i.e.*, the good and the bad) then a person is born again as a man. If the passion-nature prevail, then the person is born in one of the equivocal forms of life, the worst being as a hairy creature like a caterpillar, the best like a bird. If the passion-nature, as compared with the pure conscience, be as seven to three, then the person is born below the water-circle, and acquires within the limits

of the Fire-world an inflamed nature, his body ever burning like a Preta, no water to allay his pain, no food or drink—so he must pass a hundred thousand kalpas. If the passion-nature be as nine to one, then he must sink down to the very bottom of the fire circle, and, as a lenient punishment, be burned in a hell in which there is some intermission of pain; but if he be extremely wicked then he is born in the hell where there is no intermission. A man purely sensual, without any portion of a good conscience, sinks down to Avitchi (O-pi) and if he still continues to revile the priesthood, and mock at the law, and abuse the faithful, etc., he shall suffer over and over again in all the bottomless pits of the ten regions of space."

The Avatamsaka Sûtra says: "So it is a man at the last moment of his life sees indications of his future destiny; if he possess a bad karma he beholds all the miseries attending a birth in Hell, or as a beast, or as a Prêta. He sees the Infernal lictors, brandishing their cruel maces, scowling at him, accusing him! Handcuffed they lead him away! He hears the sounds of his own piteous cries for mercy! he sees the rivers of fire, the scalding boilers, the spiked hills, the trees covered with knives—every misery in succession which he must endure.

"But if he have a good karma, then he beholds the Heavenly mansions, the host of Dêvas and the Apsarasas, every kind of lovely garment, beautifully adorned, the palaces and gardens, surpassing in splendour; and though his body be yet alive, he already enjoys an antepast of his future blessedness!"

THE NINE MOUNTAIN GIRDLES AND THE EIGHT SEAS.

4. The first mountain is called Sume or Sumeru; its base is evenly placed on the top of the Gold circle (below the earth). It is broad towards the earth, and narrows upwards, again expanding towards the top. It is perfectly adorned with the four precious substances, gold, silver, sapphire, and lapis-

[1] What is here called passion nature, is love of the impure: that which is called good conscience is love of virtue. (Ch. Ed.)

lazuli (or coral, M.B. 11). Various sorts of trees, herbs, and fragrant foliage growing on its sides, spread their odour far and wide. Here is the resting-place of sages and philosophers (after death). The mountain is 168,000 yôjanas high, of which 84,000 are below the surface of the water. (The Dirghâgama. The Kosha and the Lai-shai give the height 80,000 yôjanas, and they say that each mountain circle to the outside iron range diminishes one-half successively). Beyond Mount Sumeru is the Fragrant Sea, whose breadth is 84,000 yôjanas. (The Kosha says 80,000.) Each of the seven seas diminishes in breadth by one-half. They produce the Utpala flower,[1] the Padma flower,[2] the Kumuda flower,[3] and the Pundarika flower.[4] These flowers grow in great profusion and spread their leaves on every side. Each mountain range is half immersed in these various seas. The second range is called Yugandara (mutually yoked). The height and breadth 42,000 yôjanas. The sea is the same breadth (the Kosha says 40,000 in each case). The third range is called Isadara (holding or connecting pole), 21,000 yôjanas in height, the sea just as wide (the Kosha says 20,000). The fourth range is called Karavîka,[5] (projecting wood. Impost?) 12,000 yôjanas high, the sea the same width (the Kosha says 10,000 yôjanas.) The fifth range is called Sudarsana, 6,000 yôjanas high, and the sea the same width. The sixth range is called Asva karna (horses' ears), 3,000 yôjanas high, the sea the same width (the Kosha says 2,500.) The seventh range is called Vinâyaka (the Obstacle Mountains),[6] 1,200 (? 1,500) yôjanas high, the sea the same (the Kosha says 1,250). The eighth range is called Nêmiñdhara (holding-earth), 600 yôjanas high (the Kosha says 625). Between this range and the Chakra Mountains, which are 300 yôjanas high, and which enclose the whole system, is the

[1] *Nymphœas* in general.
[2] *Nelumbium speciosum.*
[3] *Nymphœa esculenta.*
[4] The white Lotus.
[5] Considering the awkwardness of this expression, and also the rendering of Rémusat's, "sandal mountains" (*Lotus*, p. 847), I think there is a misprint in the text.
[6] Vide Burn., *Lot.*, p. 847.

salt sea, 322,000 yôjanas in breadth and depth, and the whole circuit 3,608,475 yôjanas. All these mountains are immersed 8,000 yôjanas below the sea, and rest on the golden wheel.[1]

And now, having alluded to these seas, we may inquire what is the cause of the morning and evening tides? The Avataṁsaka Sutra says—"The palace of the Nâga Râjah Sâgara is in the midst of the sea, the water flowing through this palace assumes a deep blue colour, and as it enters or issues forth from the palace causes the fall and rise of the sea."

Again, how is it that the countless Rivers which constantly pour their supplies into the Ocean do not cause it to overflow? The Avataṁsaka says—"There are four precious substances at the bottom of the sea, which absorb the contributions of the Rivers constantly flowing into the Ocean. Hence there is no increase or decrease in the water of the great Sea. The first precious substance is called Sun treasure great jewel, (Maharatna surya-garbha?) the splendour of which is so great that wherever it reaches the water is converted into a milk-like substance. The second the great jewel Li-jun (Dispersing fatness); wherever the splendour of this reaches it converts the milky substance into curds. The third is called the great jewel Fo-in-kwong (brilliancy of fire), the splendour of which converts the curds into butter. The fourth is called the great jewel Tsin-won-chu (no residue); wherever the splendour of this reaches it changes the butter into essential oil, and this disappears and leaves no residue, as it were by the action of fire."

[1] The Sûtras and Shasters differ somewhat in respect to these measurements. According to the Kosha, from the middle point of Mount Sumeru to the verge of its southern extremity is 40,000 yôjanas. From this point across the seven golden mountains is 79,375 yôjanas, and the seas the same, so that the whole radius would be 158,750 yôjanas, and the diameter 317,500 yôjanas. Again, the breadth of the Salt Sea is 322,312 yôjanas, so that the whole diameter from north to south and from east to west is 1,042,124 yôjanas. This is the measurement of the boundaries of the Sakwala. Ch. Ed.

What, then, we may ask, is the cause of the salt taste of the sea water? In answer to this, the Lau-Tan[1] Sutra says —"There are three reasons for the saltness of sea water. 1. In the middle of the sea is a great fish, 28,000 li in length, its pollutions cause the salt taste. 2. When the world was being perfected (the æra of perfection) there fell a great rain from the Akanishta Heavens, which, washing away from the intervening worlds much impurity, carried all of it into the sea. 3. A long time ago a certain Rishi used his sorcery and caused the water to become salt."

ON THE CAUSES OF EARTHQUAKES.

5. According to the Agama Sutras, Buddha declared that there were eight causes and occasions of earthquakes. 1. The earth is placed on water, and the water on wind, and the wind on space. When the wind is agitated, then the great water is moved, and this shakes the earth. 2. The effect of the great energy of the male and female disciples of Buddha and also of the great Dêva (Mahêshwara) acting on the waters. 3. When Bôdhisatwa descends from the Tusita Heavens to be incarnated. 4. When Bôdhisatwa is born from the right side of his mother. 5. When Bôdhisatwa arrives at perfect enlightenment. 6. When Buddha begins to preach, by turning the Wheel of the Law, which neither Mara nor Yama nor Brahma nor any Shaman or Dêva or man is able to turn. 7. When Buddha is about to bring his teaching to an end, and with undivided attention fixes his mind on the conclusion of his career. 8. When Tathâgata enters on the perfect and unsurpassed condition of Nirvâna. There are eight causes given by the Agama. Again, the Avatañsaka Sutra says—"Whenever Bôdhisatwa delivers the Law the earth quakes six times."

The Saddharma prâkasa sâsana Sutra says—"The wicked Dragons opposed to the Law, raising a great strife, put the vast sea in commotion, which is felt for a distance of several

[1] The Sanscrit name of this Sûtra appears to be Pindadhana.

hundred yôjanas. Hence the earth, which rests on the surface of the waters, is shaken also."

[Other reasons are assigned of a similar character.]

ON THE LAND OF THE NÂGA RÂJAHS.

6. The Lau-Tán Sutra says—"To the North of Mount Sumeru, under the waters of the Great Sea, is the Palace of Sâgara Nâga Râjah, in length and breadth 80,000 yôjanas; it is surrounded by precious walls, a beautiful railing, garden and parks, adorned with every species of decoration."

The Avataṁsaka Sutra says—"In the midst of the Palace of the Nâga râjah Sâgara there are four precious gems, from which are produced all the gems of the Ocean. Here also is the Palace of Jambukêtu,[1] the Nâga Râja's eldest son; also the palace of Vâsuki Nâga Rajah,[2] and eighty myriads of other Dragons, each having his separate palace.

There are five sorts of Dragons: 1. Serpent-dragons; 2. Lizard-dragons; 3. Fish-dragons; 4. Elephant-dragons; 5. Toad-dragons. Sâgara Nâga Rajah, assuming the appearance of Mahêshwara, exerting his great strength, mightily assists all sentient creatures. His influence extends from the four continents up to the Paranirmita Vasvavartin Heaven; He spreads out the clouds diversified with every colour, excites the varied brightness of the lightning, causes the changing peals of thunder, raises propitious breezes, distils fertilising showers. But though this Nâga Râjah is well affected towards men, the good principles which prevail in the world are the real source of propitious rain falling.

Again it is said that Anâvatâpta Nâga Râjah raises the wide-spreading vapoury clouds which cover Jambudwîpa and distil soft and nourishing rain, causing the various herbs and grain to spring up and flourish, and the fountains and rivers to swell with refreshing streams.

The Saddharma Prâkasa sâsana Sûtra says—"Down in the depths of the Great Sea 1,000 yôjanas is a city named Hi-

[1] Chin-fau-chwang. [2] Fan-sun.

loh,[1] its length and breadth 3,000 yôjanas; it is occupied by Nâga Râjahs. There are two sorts of Nâga Râjahs: 1. Those who practise the Law of Buddha; 2. Those who do not do so. The first protect the world; the second are opposed to it. Where the good Dragons dwell it never rains hot sand, but the wicked Dragons are subject to this, and their palaces and followers are all burned up. Whenever men obey the Law, and cherish their parents, and support and feed the Shamans, then the good Nâga Râjahs are able to acquire increased power, so that they can cause a small fertilising rain to fall, by which the five sorts of grain are perfected in colour, scent, and taste. No destructive mildew can occur, the fruits are preserved, and the flowers excel in the loveliness of their tints. The Sun and Moon exert no malign influences, but impart a fertilising warmth, whilst no blighting winds are permitted to arise, to destroy the fruits of the earth. If, on the contrary, men are disobedient to the Law, do not reverence their parents, do not cherish the Brahmans and Shamans, then the power of the wicked dragons increases, and just the opposite effects follow; every possible calamity happens to the fruits of the earth and to the lives of men.

The Great Rain asking Sûtra says[2]—"Buddha residing in the Palace of the Nâga Râjah Upananda delivered the Law, and summoned to his presence the great-cloud company of Dragons. There was the circle-hooded Sâgara Nâga Râjah, and all the other great Nâgas; amongst these, he with the mighty voice, he with the lightning tongue, he with the jewel hood, he with the snake's body, he with the 1,000 heads, he with the red eyes, he with the rolling thunder voice, etc., etc. All these being assembled, he instructed how they ought to bestow upon Jambudwîpa great fertilising rain.[3]

[1] Either the city of sportive joys, or the city called Hila or perhaps Hidda.

[2] Mahâ mêga mandala varsha-vardhana nama Sûtra.

[3] According to the orthodox opinion the Nâga spirits are lords over

ON THE COUNTRY OF THE GARUDAS OR GOLDEN-WINGED BIRDS.

7. The Sûtras say—"To the North of the great Ocean there is a large tree called Kûtasâlmali;[1] it is seven yôjanas round at its root, and is embedded twenty yôjanas in the ground. Its trunk grows one hundred yôjanas high, and its branches spread fifty yôjanas round. To the east of the tree are the palaces of the spawn-gendered dragons and Garudas, extending over 600 yôjanas. To the south of the tree are the palaces of Dragons and Garudas born from the womb. To the west of the tree those born from moisture have their abode. To the north of the tree those born by transformation. The King of these Garudas, when he wishes to seize the Dragons, flies up into the tree and looks down on the ocean; then he flaps his wings and divides the waters to the distance of 1,600 yôjanas, on which he flies down and pecks up the Dragons just as he pleases and eats them. These birds eat all the four kinds of Dragons.

They are not able, however, to seize Sâgara Nâga Râjah, or Nanda, or Upananda, or Ditarasa, or Anâvâtapta, or any of the Dragons who have entered on a religious life.[2]

ON THE COUNTRY OF THE ASURAS.[3]

8. The Sûtras say—"To the east of Mount Sumeru, at a distance of 1,000 yôjanas, is the territory of Vemâchitra,[4] the King of the Asuras. It is surmounted by the ocean and em-

the wind, rain, thunder and lightning, but common books attribute these results to combinations of Yang and Yin. Ch. Ed.

[1] Ku-cha-che-ma-li. A species of cotton tree. Vide E. Burnouf.

[2] Once on a time, when the Dragons were tormented by the Garudas, they laid their case before Buddha, who gave them his Kasha robe to divide amongst them; whoever possesses a portion of this is exempt from any molestation by these birds.

[3] The Asuras are not Dêvas either in point of power or bliss; they are Dêvas in one sense, yet have not their superior merit, but on the contrary they are subject to violent passion. Ch. Ed.

[4] Pi-ma-che-to-lo.

braced by the wind, as a cloud is held by the air. Its length and breadth is 80,000 yôjanas, a series of seven costly railings surround it, and also precious trees and gardens. The walls of the residence are 10,000 yôjanas across, and the palace itself 1,000 yôjanas across. The several palaces of the Asuras are within these precincts; some small, others large. To the south of the mount is the palace of the Asura Bala-rajah.[1] To the west of the mount is the palace of Savara-rajah.[2] To the north of the mount is the palace of Rahu, Asura Râjah.

The Saddharma prâkasa sâsana Sûtra says: "Underneath the earth and the ocean are the abodes of the hateful enemies of the Dêvas, called Asuras. There are two kinds of them. 1. Those who may properly be called demons, being hungry prêtas with shapes like the Devil, possessing, however, a certain power of spiritual transformation. 2. Those born as beasts (or, in the shape of brutes). They occupy the border of Mount Sumeru, 84,000 yôjanas below the sea and land. There are four territories belonging to them. 1. The territory of Rahu, 21,000 yôjanas across. He is able to assume an apparitional body, great or small, according to his purpose, in any part of the Kama Rupa. The city he lives in is called 'shining bright' (prâbhasa?); it is 8,000 yôjanas in length and breadth, and is adorned with precious groves, flowing streams and tanks. The years of his life are 5,000, each day and night of which is equal to 500 years of men. The second territory is 21,000 yôjanas below the former and occupied by Bala deva,[3] Asura Râjah, in length and breadth 13,000 yôjanas; the city is called star-tassel[4] (Jyotîskandha?); the years of his life 6,000, each day and night of which is equal to 600 years of men. The third territory is 21,000 yôjanas below the former, where dwells an Asura Râjah called Suraskandha,[5] in length and breadth 13,000 yôjanas; the city is called Havira,[6] in length and breadth 8,000 yôjanas; the years of his life 7,000, each day and night of which is equal to 700 years of men. The

[1] Yung-yoh. [2] Suraskhanda. *Lotus* 3.
[3] Yung-kien. [4] Sing-man. [5] Fa-man. [6] Han-pi-lo.

fourth territory is the dwelling-place of Vêmachitra, 21,000 yôjanas below the former; the chief city is called Havira, 13,000 yôjanas across." (The Surañgama Sûtra says that there are viviparous, oviparous, etc., Asuras also.)

ON THE WAR OF THE ASURAS WITH THE DÊVAS.

9. The Saddharma prâkasa sâsana Sûtra says: "At the time when the Asuras engaged in conflict with the Dêvas, they first got the wicked Dragons to excite pernicious winds and rain to destroy the crops in Jambudwîpa. The King of the good Dragons hereupon sent many messengers to warn them to desist from any such purpose. The wicked Nâgas paid no attention to the warning. They came therefore to blows, and with thunder and fire the strife was carried on. At this time the power of the virtuous principles of men was great, so that the good Dragons gained a speedy victory. A second time the Asuras dispatched their hosts to re-commence the struggle. At this time the power of wicked principles amongst men was great, so that the assembled armies of the Asuras put the good Nâgas to flight. On this they commissioned the space-travelling Yakshas with haste to cleave the void and ascend upwards to beg the assistance of the Dêvas (heavenly soldiers), and so once more the Asûras are put to flight. But now the King of the inferior Asûras comes forth with his warriors and rallies the retreating crowd; and when, in consequence of his assistance, the good Nâgas and Dêvas were hard pressed, the four Heavenly Kings bring forth their armies and retrieve the fortune of the day. Finally, the King of the great Asûras is supplicated to help them; he, indeed, greatly enraged, leapt up from his throne, the great earth trembled and quaked, Nanda, the Nâga Râjah, with his tail lashed the sea till the spray thereof reached even to the Tusita Heaven. Then Sakra Rajah, seeing the earth quake and the clouds driven here and there in wild confusion, knew that the Asûras were invading his boundaries, whereupon he commanded the thirty-two Dêvas to enter the

Chitra vana[1] and select each one a diamond mace and sword, a battleaxe and club, bow and quiver, and prepare himself for the encounter. Seeing this, the King of the Great Asûras issued his orders for his subjects to assemble in mass; in countless numbers they came forth from the mighty ocean, each grasping his warlike weapons. Cleaving the void they ascended to engage the Heavenly Kings. The four Kings,[2] beholding the vast array, hastened up to the summit of Sumeru to seek an audience with Sakra Râjah. Then Sakra, mounting his Imperial Elephant (elephant-dragon, *i.e.*, Âirâvana hasti râjah), summoned all the Dêvas to assemble their followers and descend to the conflict. The armies of the Asûra Râjah had already reached the confines of the Mountain; whom, indeed, Sekra Râjah tried to conciliate by friendly counsel, but the King, scowling upwards, shouted out—'Seize him, there!' 'Hold him, there!' Then the Dêva Kings ordered their forces to advance; Surya Dêva puttra[3] led the way, beaming forth his blinding rays into the eyes of the Asûra Râjah. He, indeed, dazzled by the brightness, was unable to distinguish the hosts of the Dêvas, and so raised his hand to shade his eyes (this causes an eclipse), and commanded the Asûras to attack, on which the two hosts come into conflict. Then very wonderful was the struggle and the commotion: no human powers of comparison can sufficiently describe it. King with king, leader with leader, army with army, dragon with dragon, ruthlessly struggled. They advanced as a cloudy phalanx, they clashed the martial drums, they exercised their supernatural force. Nor was the contest of one kind only, for some fought with gleaming swords, some grasped the mighty spear, the thunder crash and the lightning gleam followed in rapid succession. There was the hurling of great rocks and mighty trees; some belched forth water

[1] Tchi-to-lo-lin, or it may be the Chitra treasure-house or depository, "chitra" meaning magical or supernatural.

[2] That is the chatur mahâ râjahs, who live on each side of Sumeru.

[3] *i.e.*, the Sun Dêva.

and some fire; some tugged hand to hand; whilst others shouted out defiance. Then there were those who employed magical contrivances; some caused swords and arrows and stones to fall like rain; some were wounded—without eyes! without ears! with no hands or feet! The Dêvas, indeed, except their heads were cut from their shoulders, had the power to restore themselves, but not so their opponents. Then Sumeru shook and quaked! the great ocean seethed and boiled! and the fish Nâgas leapt upwards in wild affright at the noise of the battle!

At this time the Asûra Râjah, using his spiritual power, appeared with five hundred heads and five hundred hands, and seizing a mountain three hundred yôjanas high, he hurled it against the heavenly host. This the King of the Dêvas triturated to fine powder by the countless arrows he shot against it during its flight. Again the Asûra King seized a mountain five hundred yôjanas high, and hurled it against Sakra Râjah; this the Imperial Elephant Âirâvana caught with his trunk and hurled it back against the Asûra, whom, striking full in the middle of his breast, it overturned. Then the Dêvas laughingly shouted—'Ah! beast-born! has the White Elephant hit you!' Hereupon the Elephant King, exerting his spiritual power, assumed an appearance of one with 1000 heads! from his mouths he darted flames of fire! whilst his body by its vastness filled the limits of space! Then Sakra Râjah also assumed a majestic body with 1000 heads and 1000 arms, and seizing in each hand a diamond mace sparkling with the lustre of gems, mounted on his Royal Elephant, he advanced in person against the Asûras, resolved for good to drive them back. The King of the Asûras, beholding Sakra Râjah darkening the limits of space with his body, his heart failed him for fear and he ordered his army to turn about and descend from the heights. Then the Dêvas of the thirty-two heavens and the four heavenly Kings hurled down their winged swords thick as the falling rain and their arrows like the showers of Autumn, and thus joined in the pursuit.

At length Sakra Râjah, moved with pity, recalled his soldiers, and bade them return to the Triyastriñshas Heaven, to lay aside their military weapons and assume their heavenly robes!

"After this, Sakra, ascending his Royal throne, the Kings came forward to congratulate him; and he on his part delivered the Law to them and expounded many virtuous principles in their hearing, exhorting them to practise piety, and not forsake the rules of correct life. All the Dêvas thereupon made obeisance and departed to their several palaces. Meantime, Airâvana hasti râjah, filled with exultation, blew forth from his trunk two mighty streams of water, which, spreading abroad through Jambudwîpa, fell as a genial rain for seven days, causing the different sorts of shrubs and grain to revive and flourish. Then he also went to his highly adorned abode."

ON THE BODILY SIZE OF DIFFERENT BEINGS.

10. The Agama Sûtra says: "Of all the great creatures which exist, the two Nâgas Nanda and Upananda are the largest. They are able to infold Sumeru seven times round, their heads above the top of it and their tails in the sea."

Another Sûtra says:[1] "The greatest creature is the Garuda Mahâkaya, from head to tail eight thousand yojanas, and in height the same. This bird can fly without rest from one Sumera to another (that is, from one world to another)."

The Avatamsaka Sûtra says: "When the Dêvas of the thirty-three heavens were at war with the Asuras, the Dêvas gained the victory, and the Asuras were discomfited. The Asura-Rajah, although seven hundred yojanas long, by his power of sorcery, was able to conceal himself and all his host in the tubes of the lily roots."

A gâtha says:

[1] Pou-sah-chu-toi-king, that is, the Sûtra of the births of Bôdhisatwa.

"As when the Asûra took upon himself corporeal shape,
Standing upon the Diamond strand in Ocean's midst,
The waters of the sea concealed one half his form,
Whilst high as Sumeru's top his head he towered."

(This would make his bodily shape to be 158,000 yojanas long.)

We read again in the Vinaya:[1] "The body of the great fish Makara is sometimes three hundred yojanas long, and sometimes four hundred, the greatest ever known is seven hundred yojanas."

So another Sûtra says: "With eyes like the sun and moon, a nose like a gigantic mountain, a mouth like a yawning abyss."

In the Rules of the Vinaya it is said that Sariputra having carefully strained his drinking-water, again and again desired to make use of it to quench his thirst, but by his spiritual power perceived that it was yet full of minute insects. For seven days he drank nothing. Then his body became attenuated, and Buddha inquired what was the cause of it; to whom he answered: "In obedience to your orders I carefully strained my drinking-water, in order to free it from all animal life, but yet I saw, by my power of spiritual perception, that there remained in it countless insect forms, and so, from respect to the Rule for protecting and preserving Life, I did not dare to drink." On which Buddha answered: "By using your supernatural power thus, you would destroy life rather than preserve it; henceforth therefore we ordain that in purifying drinking-water, the common power of sight shall determine if it is sufficiently strained."

ON THE GENERAL NAMES FOR HELL.

11. What we call "earth-prisons" in Sanscrit is called Niraya, which means "opposed to reason," or, "out of the right way," because the places spoken of, lie at the very bottom under the World of Desires (Abidharma). Again

[1] Rules of the four divisions.

they are called "Narakas," which word points to their being the abode of "wicked men" (Vibasha); thus the Vibasha Shaster says: "Underneath Jambudwîpa are the great Narakas—above are the frontier Hells; there are also solitary hells in mountains, valleys, and in hollows and desert places."

The other continents have only frontier and solitary hells, but no great ones, whilst some affirm that the northern continent has no hells. The occupants of these abodes have human shapes and human feelings—from their mouths proceed constant shrieks, indicating intense suffering, but not one articulate word can they pronounce. These places of punishment are fashioned with brass and iron; there is also an "iron city," trees covered with knives, boiling rivers,[1] iron network, everything arranged according to the strictest Rule.[2] There are many sorts of these miserable abodes, but we will in brief confine ourselves to three, viz., The burning hells, the freezing hells, and the frontier hells.

THE EIGHT BURNING HELLS.

12. With respect to these we read in the Vibasha Shaster: "Under Jambudwîpa down to the place of punishment called Avitchi,[3] is forty thousand yojanas. The space included in this measurement tapers upward from the bottom like a heap of grain."

The Sa-p'o-to Shaster[4] says: "Below Jampudwîpa there is a depth of earthy loam five hundred yojanas in thickness, below this five hundred yojanas of white clay. Below this is the Sandjiva-hell, and after this six others down to the Pratapana-hell, including a distance of nineteen thousand yojanas. Each of these hells is ten thousand yojanas in width,

[1] Compare "Phlegethon."

[2] That is, according to the universal description given in Buddhist books of an abode "perfectly adorned," that it has a surrounding rail, groves of trees, tanks of water, and a net-work ornamental enclosure; only in this case the end is to torture rather than delight the occupants.

[3] Wou-kan, "no interval."

[4] This may be the Shasters of the Sarvastivadah school.

but the height and breadth of Avitchi is twenty thousand yojanas." A Gâtha in the Fah-yuen[1] says:

"The first seven Hells are 500 yôjanas apart;
The lowest one 320,000 li beneath;
Its length and breadth alike, of brass and iron:
In this the worst of men are born."

Another Sûtra says:[2] "Outside all the mountain-kings of the four great continents, there is one mountain range distinct from the rest called the Iron-circle; in height 6,800,000 yojanas, the length and breadth the same, hard as the diamond; beyond this again is a similar circular iron range; between these two is a very dark and vast interval, without one ray of light from the sun or the moon. Here are situated the eight great hells."

With respect to the duration of life in these places of torment, relying on the Abidharma Shaster[3]—"In the Sanjiva hell the number of years is five hundred. In the Kala-sutra hell a thousand years, and in each successive place of punishment double the period of the former one, down to the Tapana-hell, where the period is sixteen thousand years; in the Pratapana-hell half a kalpa, and in the Avitchi-hell, a kalpa.

The Kosha Shaster[4] says: "In the Sandjiva-hell a day and a night equal five hundred years of the Chaturmahâ râjahs, down to the Tapana hell, where one day and night equal sixteen thousand years of the Nirmânazati heaven."

Another Sûtra[5] says: "One day and night in the Sandjiva hell, is equal to 16,200 kotis of years of men (a koti is a hundred thousand). In the Kala-Sutra hell a day and night is equal to 32,400 kotis of years of men. In the

[1] The Garden of the Law: this is probably the encyclopædia known as the Fah-yuen-tchou-lin.

[2] The In-pen Sûtra, *i.e.*, the cause-ground Sûtra, it may be the Maha Nidana Sûtra; but this must be left for further consideration.

[3] Written by Vasubhandu.

[4] This also was written by Vasubhandu against the Vibasha school.

[5] The Kiao-liang-sheou-ming, *i.e.*, the Sûtra which relates to the comparative duration of the years of life.

Sanghata-hell one day and night is equal to 64,800 kotis of years of men. In the Raurava-hell one day and night is equal to 129,600 kotis, in the Mahâ-Raurava hell 259,200 kotis, and in the Tapana-hell 518,400 kotis." The Kchiti-garbha[1] Sutra says: "To the east of Jambudwîpa there is a region where there is a mountain called Iron-circle. In the black space behind this mountain, where there is neither light from the sun or moon, is a great hell called Aparavitchi.[2] Again there is another called the Great Avitchi[3] (Mahâ-vitchi); again there are on each of the four sides other hells (amounting to twenty-four in all), such as "that with winged knives," "fiery arrows," "crushing mountains," and so on. Then there are the calling-out hells (twenty-two in number), and others up to a hundred thousand. All these are contained within the great Iron-circle Mountains. This great earth in which we live has eighteen successive tiers of hells, amounting to five hundred in all, each having a distinct name."

With regard to the Avitchi[4]-hell, its walls are in circuit some eighty thousand li, made of solid iron, and a thousand li in height. Flames of fire are continually bursting from above the walls. Within its precincts other hells are arranged, all with different names. In the middle of all is another hell called by the same name of Avitchi, eighteen thousand li round and ten thousand li high; the whole is made of iron, and the flames are continually lapping up and down—iron snakes and monsters on the walls ever belch forth fire from their open mouths, whilst in the midst the modes of torture are so arranged that each miserable victim stretched out on the rack beholds thousands of others undergoing still more excruciating torments, which await him in his turn." The Satyasiddha[5] vyâkarana Shaster says: "There are five Avitchi hells—1, the immediate-recompense Avitchi,

[1] Ti-tsang-king.

[2] Kih-wou-kien. Vide *Vishnu Purana*, 207, n.

[3] Tai o-hi.

[4] This evidently refers to the whole class of such Hells, probably that called Mahâvitchi or Aparavitchi in the Puranas and in Menu.

[5] Tching-shih-lun.

because here are born immediately after death those who deserve it; 2, the woeful Avitchi, because of its utter misery; 3, the temporary Avitchi, because its torments last one kalpa; 4, life-long Avitchi, because there is no cessation of pain; 5, the form-like Avitchi, eighty thousand yojanas in length and breadth, ever filled with human forms."

THE DIFFERENT SORTS OR MARKS OF PUNISHMENT.

13. The school of the Sarvâstivâdins[1] speak of eight great hells—1, Sandjiva.[2] The hands of the miscreants born in this hell are provided with iron claws, with which they tear and mangle each other's flesh; or else, seizing with their hands knives and swords, they cut and hack each other to bits.[3] Lying on the ground, their bodies thus torn and mutilated, dying by degrees, a freezing cold wind blows on them, and they revive. The infernal Lictors[4] then cry out that they are alive. The unhappy wretches had thought within themselves: "Now then life is over at last." Hence in the Agamas this hell is called the Hell of Thought (Sanjnya Naraka) as well as the Hell of Revival (*i.e.*, Sandjîva). Having for a long time endured these miseries, they emerge from this Sanjnya[5] (or sañdjñâna) hell, and are driven, terrified and aghast, into the Black-pebble Hell.[6] When the torments of this hell are finished, they are next driven into the Hell of Bubbling Filth;[7] and so they go on from hell to hell

[1] Sah-po-to. [2] Tang-hwoh or Kang-hwoh.

[3] Compare the 22nd Canto of the Inferno. In the 136th line we read:—

"And when the barterer had escaped, he turned
His claws on his companion; so, pell-mell,
Above the foss they grappled."—Trans. by J. W. Thomas.

Compare also Canto XXVIII, 36.

[4] "Because our wounds heal ever and anon
Ere we appear before the fiend again."—*Id.*, 41.

[5] Siang. [6] Kâla mâna Naraka (?)

[7] "There boil'd below a thick and pitchy mass,
Daubing in every part the steep decline;
The pitch I saw, but not what therein was,
Except the bubbles by the boiling raised,
Heaving and sinking all."—Inferno, XXI, 17.

till they come to the sixteenth, which is the freezing cold hell. So it is men are punished who have committed sins of body, speech, or thought, and so acquired an evil karma.

(2.) The Kâla Sûtra Hell,[1] so called because the wretches confined therein are lashed with burning iron wires, their limbs hacked with iron hatchets, their bones slowly sawn asunder with iron saws. Moreover, the wind blowing on their lacerated flesh causes their bodies, already burnt and scarred, to corrupt with innumerable poisonous wounds. At length, these punishments being exhausted, they are ejected from the Kâla-sutra-Hell into the Black-pebble-Hell, and so on through the whole to the freezing cold hell. Such are the punishments assigned to those who, during life, have been disrespectful to father or mother, Buddha or the priests.

(3.) The Sanghata Hell.[2] Here the bones and flesh of sinners are crushed by mountains falling on them or closing on them; iron elephants stamp them to pieces; they are brayed in iron mortars, vast stones are hurled upon them, till their blood and secretions flow out on the ground—all these torments are united in this place of punishment.[3] After enduring these for a long time the victims come forth and pass in succession through all the little hells as before. Those who have committed either of the three wicked acts (proceeding from hatred, envy, anger) are punished here.

(4.) The Raurâva Hell,[4] is so called from the constant shrieks which proceed from the sufferers—for the lictors having seized their victims, cast their bodies into iron caldrons, or on red-hot pans, till they cry out in their agony. These tortures they endure for a long time, and then emerge as before, and pass through the sixteen little hells. Murderers and poisoners are punished here.

(5.) The next is called the great calling-out hell (Mahâraurâvas) for here the victims are placed under iron hatchets

[1] Heh-sieh, *i.e.*, black cord or thread.

[2] Chung-hoh, *i.e.*, assembled union. Some Sûtras call it Fau-yah.

[3] Hence the name "Samghata."

[4] Kiau-hwan.

and knives, and placed on burning pans, and roasted and fried over and over again, so that their cries are exceeding loud. Heretics and malefactors are punished here.

(6.) The Tapana Hell. Here the victims are shut up within iron walls, and placed in an iron dungeon at the top of an iron tower, which both within and without is red with fire. Here their flesh is burned and charred to a cinder. Those who have roasted or baked animals for their food are punished here.

(7.) This hell is called Pratapana. Here the guilty are thrown into a great lake of fire, and pierced through with iron spikes, so that, being unable to escape, they are burned in the fire. Those who despise and reject that which is good (apostates) and turn to do evil, are punished here.

(8.) This hell is called Avitchi. Here the lictors, seizing on their victims, flay them as they stand, and then, holding them in fiery chariots, convey them through and through the iron city, whose flames miserably enwrap their bodies; ten thousand poisonous blasts assail their senses on every side; there is no cessation of their misery for a moment, and so it is called "no intermission." Men guilty of the worst crimes are punished here.

The Saddharma prâkasa sâsana Sûtra says: "The miseries of Avitchi are thousands of myriad times worse than those of the former seven." The Buddhanusmritti Samadhi[1] Sûtra says: "The Avitchi (A-pi) hell is eight thousand yojanas square, and is surrounded by a seven-fold iron wall; it has a seven-fold iron network, eighteen incense-caldrons, seven rows of knife-trees, four great copper dogs,[2] eighteen infernal lictors, etc. When a wicked man is near death, the copper dogs cause the appearance of eighteen chariots, covered, as it were, with precious trappings, the fire blaze seems like a gemmous lady. The wicked man beholding it afar off rejoices much, and desires to be transported in it. The cold wind now blowing on his dissolved body, he cries

[1] Kwan-foe-san-mui. Vide *Was.*, § 172 and 174.

[2] Demons (?) Compare the "dogs of Yama."

out in his misery, "Oh! would that I could find a fire to warm me, or obtain a seat in one of these chariots!" So he is hurried off; the fire then bursts forth, and, bound hand and foot, he is carried on to Avitchi. Down the various chasms he descends till he comes to the lowest of all! There King Jemma, in a loud voice, addresses him: "Wretched man! in life you sowed for hell! Disobedient to father and mother, following every kind of heretical teaching!—now born in Avitchi."

Then he undergoes unutterable suffering; during a great kalpa, every day and night of which equal to sixty small kalpas of men; or if he has transgressed in the worst particulars, then his sufferings shall endure even for eighty-four thousand great kalpas, and even after that he shall endure similar pains in the other Narakas—throughout the worlds of space."

We may reasonably speak of Avitchi, therefore, as the "Hell from which there is no deliverance."

OF THE EIGHT COLD HELLS.

14. The first is Avata.[1] The cold here is so great that it causes the flesh to break out in sores.

The second Niravata.[2] Here the cold is so intense that the whole body is scarified.

The third, the A-chả-chả Hell, or the chattering hell, because the teeth are constantly making this noise, with the cold.

The fourth, the O-po-po, or Havava hell, because the tongue makes a noise like this from the cold.

The fifth, the O-hau-hau, or Hahaha Hell, because of the noise the breath makes.

The sixth, the Yu-po-lo, or Utpala Hell, because the flesh is covered with patches like the blue lotus.

The seventh the Po-to-ma, or Padma Hell, because here the flesh is covered with patches like the red lotus.

[1] O-fan-to. [2] Ni-lai-fan-to.

The eighth is the Pan-to-li, or Pundara Hell, because the flesh is covered with patches like the white lotus.

The Abidharma Shaster says: "Buddha declared that on the outskirts of all the Sakwalas there is a black interval, without sun or moonlight. Here are the great Narakas. Outside the iron mountains of every pair of Sakwalas are the cold hells. There are ten of these; the first is called Avata, the tenth is Padma. Here the icy winds ever blow, and the bodies of the culprits covered with sores, and their teeth chatter ceaselessly with the cold. The place is dark, yet each one hearing the other thus suffering knows of his presence. The narrowest portion of this place is eight thousand yojanas. The depth and height cannot be ascertained. The greatest breadth is a hundred and sixty thousand yojanas."

The San-fah-to[1] Sûtra says: "The duration of suffering in the Avata Hell is as if one were to fill a Kusûla[2] measure, containing twenty pecks of hemp-seed, and to appoint a person to take one of these seeds every hundred years, then, when all were exhausted, one year of this hell would have elapsed. Twenty of these years make one of the Niravata years; and so on in succession."

The Ch'wang Tsun inscription says: "Again, there are ten Narakas. The first, Avata; the length of a year, as it were a vaha of hemp-seed (according to the Djñana prasthana Shaster, twenty pecks of piled up hemp-seed make a vaha; if a man take one of these seeds every hundred years, after exhausting twenty such heaps he would emerge from this Hell). The second, Niravata; duration of the year, equal to two vahas (*i.e.*, the time taken to exhaust two vahas of hemp-seed, taking one, every hundred years), and so on down to the tenth. The whole of these Narakas are composed of copper and iron, the length and breadth one hundred yôjanas. The terms of suffering in them vary

[1] This may be the Samvatta Sûtra; concerning this term, vide *Lotus*, 730.

[2] Kieou-sah-lo.

according to their depth; each of them has belonging to it 100,000 small Narakas."

ON THE THREE FRONTIER NARAKAS.

14. The San-fah-to Sûtra says: "The frontier hells are situated—(1.) Among the mountains; (2.) In the sea; (3.) In the wilderness: they all have different degrees of punishment." The inscription of Ch'wang Tsun says: "The solitary hells are all places in Jambudwîpa, either in the deserts, or the mountains, or the whorls of the sea. There are 84,000 receptacles (seats), each arranged according to demerit, whether grave or light.

ON EMERGING FROM THE NARAKAS.

15. The Buddha Samadhi Sûtra (or the Buddhanusmriti Samadhi Sûtra) says: "Being released from Avitchi, one must be born in the cold hells: being delivered from these, we must be born in pitchy-black places, where for 8,000,000 years the eye sees nothing, and where, being born under the form of some great crawling creature which gropes along on its belly, the "hu-long"[1] preys on one continually. The next birth is as a human creature; either deaf, or blind, or leprous, during five hundred generations ever diseased and miserable. Then one is born as a Prêta, in which condition, having learned wisdom, and repeating the invocation "Namo-Foe,"[2] and persevering to the end in the way of piety; one is born in one of the heavens of the Four Kings, and afterwards, going on in the same path of self-improvement, perfect Bliss (the heart of Knowledge) is at length attained.

ON THE ABODE OF KING JEMMA.

16. The Hi-shai Sûtra says: "South of Jambudwîpa, out-

[1] The "hu-long" is the name of some fabulous animal.

[2] Glory to Buddha.

side the two iron mountain circles, is the palace of King Jemmara, in length and breadth, 6,000 yôjanas, surrounded by seven walls, seven decorated rails, seven golden net-work trellises, seven avenues of trees, provided with parks, flower-gardens, and tanks, enriched with every kind of fruit and perfected by songs of birds. The King, on account of his evil karma, during six hours of the day and six of the night, endures frightful sufferings; vessels full of boiling metal appear before him; his Palace is changed into an iron prison; the delights (the five delights) in which he indulged disappear; and he himself is filled with horror and dismay. Then come the infernal lictors, and seizing the King, they lay him on the ground and pour down his throat the molten metal; then the wretched King thinks: 'This is all the consequence of my former sin. Oh! would that I could escape from this condition and be born as a man, that I might become a disciple of Tathâgata.' This good confession over, the Palace with its seven adornments again appears, the five sources of delight again surround him, and all his great ministers resume their functions."

The Sûtras say that King Jemra, when monarch of the country Pi-sha, went to war with Wei-to-chi (Vidasi) Râjah, and, being worsted, he swore a great oath, and registered it, that he would be Lord of Hell, and eighteen of his chief ministers and a million of his subjects partook of his vow, and said: "May we also form part of his government." So, then, he who was King of Pi-sha is now King Jemra, and his eighteen ministers are eighteen minor Kings, and his million subjects are his chief supporters.

The Saddharma prakâsa-sâsana Sûtra says: "Jemra is a twofold ruler; the brother rules the Hell of men; the sister the Hell of women."[1]

ON THE PRÊTAS.

17. The Saddharma prakâsa-sâsana Sûtra says: "there are

[1] This fable evidently refers to Yama and Yamî.

two kinds of Prêtas—(1.) Those who live amongst men; (2.) Those who live in the worlds of the Prêtas.

Those who live amongst men are such as men sometimes see when they go out at night-time. The others dwell five hundred yôjanas below Jambudwîpa, their place of abode extending over 36,000 yôjanas.

There are innumerable kinds of Prêtas. Those who dwell in Jambudwîpa may be briefly classed under thirty-six heads:—1. Flat-bodied; 2. Needle-mouth'd; 3. Vomit eaters; 4. Filth eaters; 5. Mist eaters; 6. Water feeders; 7. Scarcely seen; 8. Spittle feeders; 9. Hair eaters; 10. Blood suckers; 11. Notion feeders;[1] 12. Flesh eaters; 13. Incense feeders; 14. Fever makers; 15. Secret pryers; 16. Earth lurkers; 17. Spirit rappers; 18. Flame burners; 19. Baby snatchers; 20. Lust longers; 21. Sea dwellers; 22. King Jemma's club-holders; 23. Starvelings; 24. Baby eaters; 25. Vital eaters; 26. Rakshas; 27. Smoke eaters; 28. Marsh dwellers; 29. Wind eaters; 30. Ash feeders; 31. Poison eaters; 32. Desert livers; 33. Spark feeders; 34. Tree dwellers; 35. Road dwellers (?); 36. Body killers. Such, in brief, are thirty-six kinds of these creatures; the list might be extended indefinitely.

All persons who have acquired an evil karma by their covetous, niggard disposition are born as Prêtas.

ON BIRTH AS A BRUTE.

18. There are 3,400,000 different kinds of animals. So that this mode of birth admits of the greatest variety. Every sort of creature has its own peculiar appearance, mode of locomotion, manner of feeding.

Of winged creatures each has its own character and preferences. Some go singly, others in pairs, others in flocks. There are birds that feed on flesh like beasts, such as the

[1] Literally "Law-feeders"; but if "fah" have the sense sometimes attributed to it, it may signify that which the intelligent mind apprehends.

magpie, hawk, etc.—these are of solitary habits; others which devour their own species, as the owl, which eats small birds, etc.

So, then, according to the peculiar disposition of each person whose fate it is to be born in this "way," will be the character of his birth; and so also with respect to birth in the other ways, whether from moisture, or by transformation; the character of the new body to be assumed is determined by the disposition acquired in the previous life, and this determines the case in all the infinite varieties of creature-births to which men are exposed.

§ 2.—ON THE PALACE OF THE SUN.

1. The Hi-shai Sûtra says: "The Palace of the Sun Dêva (Sûrya Dêva) is ornamented (perfected) with gold and crystal. The length and breadth of the city walls, fifty-one yôjanas. It is a perfect square, although, when seen at a distance, it has the appearance of a circle. There are five different winds which continually revolve round it as it moves. The chariot of the Sun Dêva is made of gold and sandal-wood; it is sixteen yôjanas high and eight yôjanas square. It is in this that the Sun Dêva and all his followers dwell, enjoying heavenly delights. The year is equal to 500 of ours; and their period of existence is a medium Kalpa. The glory of the Sun Dêva's person lights up his abode and the entire Palace. His chariot is ever on the move; for six months going north, and for six months south."

THE PALACE OF THE MOON.

2. The walls of the city of the Moon Dêva (Chandra Dêva) are fifty yojanas square. His Palace is made of silver and lapis-lazuli, and is sixteen yojanas high and eight yojanas square; pleasant breezes surround it as it goes.

The Moon Dêva with the Devîs occupy this palace and enjoy therein heavenly delights. Their years the same as those of the Sun Dêva.

ON THE VARIABLE SPLENDOUR OF SUN AND MOON.

3. The Hi-shai Sutra says: "How can we account for the gradual appearance and disappearance of the Moon? There are three reasons. 1. On account of its revolution, by which the hinder parts are exhibited. 2. The different blue-clad Dêvas,[1] ever and anon intervening between the Earth and Moon, cause the disc of the latter to be obscured. 3. Because the bright rays of the Sun (sixty bright rays) obscure the disc of the Moon. As the Sun and Moon separate the latter gradually appears to sight.

Again, how can we account for its arriving at perfect fulness? In three ways. 1. The face gradually turns round. 2. In fifteen days the Moon's brightness is able to overpower the Nîlâmbara dêvas[2] (or the blue-garments). 3. The Moon being at its furthest distance from the Sun, appears full. And how do we account for the fifteen days of the dark moon (Krishnapaksha), in which it does not appear? In this period the Moon is so near the Sun that its brightness is obscured. What, again, is the cause of the New Moon (Ming Yueh)? Because the Moon, having passed through its dark period, and being one day's distance from the Sun, just so much of its disc appears. And what is the cause of the shadow in the middle of the Moon? Because the Jambu Tree, which is in this great Continent (dwipa), casts a shadow on the Moon; so high is the tree.

When the Sun is on the meridian in Jambudwipa, it appears to be setting to the people of the Eastern continent,

[1] Nîlâmbara Dêvas—the Dêvas who inhabit the planet Saturn. Nîlâmbara and Nîlavastra are also epithets of Balarâma, or it may refer to the Kumbhândas.

[2] Or it may refer to the Kumbhândas, who have blue garments. M.B. p. 24, or to the Yakshas, who are called "blue-clad" (vide account of the Triyastriñshas Heaven).

and rising to those on the Western continent; and to the people of the Northern continent it is just midnight.

The Lih-shai says: "The power of the Karma of all creatures, affecting the influences above us, causes the wind circle to fan the Sun and Moon so that they continually revolve. The Sun in its movements traverses one hundred and eighty paths; the Moon has fifteen paths. Again, there are two paths, the inner and outer. The Sun in its movements is both in conjunction and separation from the Moon. During each day the Sun traverses 48,080 yojanas; if it is approaching the Moon, it daily overlaps it in the proportion of 3⅓ yôjanas. In fifteen days, therefore, it completely covers the Moon, so that its face is hid. In receding from the Moon it uncovers the same proportion of its disc, so that in fifteen days the Moon appears Full.

As the Sun follows in the track of the Moon its brightness gradually obscures the light of the latter, and so it appears to cast a shadow on its surface, which gradually increases.

Again, as the Sun's orbit is greater than that of the Moon (or, as the Sun's motion in its orbit is faster than that of the Moon), during six months the Sun, passing from its inner path, proceeds to the extremity of its outer course; and during six months it passes from the outer path and traverses the inner one. The Moon, on the other hand, occupies only fifteen days in each of these courses. Thus, whilst the Sun is passing through its inner course to the people of Jambudwipa, it appears to be in its outer course to the people of the North; and to the people of the East and West it seems to be in its middle course. At this time the days are at their longest in Jambudwîpa, being eighteen mouhoûrtas; and the night shortest, being twelve mouhoûrtas; whilst in the East and West the days and nights are equally long, that is, each fifteen mouhoûrtas long—according to their respective positions compared with Jambudwîpa.[1]

[1] A mouhoûrta, according to divisions of time in this country (China),

ON THE PALACE OF THE STAR DÊVAS.

4. The Ta-tsi-king (Samyuktapitaka?) says: "In past times the Rishi P'o-kia-p'o (Bhagava?) arranged the stars according to constellations, assigning a certain number for the protection of different countries and for the benefit of their inhabitants. Each quarter, therefore, has its presiding stars: over the Eastern quarter six asterisms; over the North seven; over the South seven; over the West seven (the twenty-seven Nakshatra Yoginis).

Another Sûtra[1] says there are nine principal Heavens, twenty-eight asterisms, twelve horary mansions.

The Surañgama Sutra says there are 84,000 stars which indicate calamities.

According to the Lau-Tan Sutra, the circumference of a great star is 720 li; of a medium star, 480 li; and of a small one, 120 li. All the stars are inhabited by Dêvas.

The Yoga Shaster says the great stars are eighteen krôsas, the medium ones ten krôsas, and the small ones four krôsas round.[2] (A krôsa is the distance that one can hear the lowing of an ox.[3] A krôsa or kos equals one mile and a quarter English).[4] The Âgama says a great star is one yôjana (*i.e.*, eight kos), and a little star 300 paces round. The largest stars are in diameter sixteen yôjanas, and in circumference forty-eight yôjanas. The smallest half a krôsa in diameter.

The Kiouen-So Sûtra (Brahmajâla?) says: "The Sun, Moon, stars, and planets are all inhabited by Dêvas."

Half-way up Mount Sumeru[5] are the habitations of the four kings.[6] On the Eastern side is a city called Chang-

is equal to 3 k'eh (15 minutes each), 3 li, 3 ho, 3 sse, 3 fah, *i.e.*, 45·3333 min.

[1] The Siau Tsai King (assuaging-calamity Sûtra).

[2] One krôsa equals six Chinese li. (Ch. Ed.) [3] Jul. II, 59.

[4] E. Burnouf, *Sansc. Dict.*

[5] The In-pen and the Djñana Shaster give the height 42,000 yôjanas; the Abidharma and the Kosha give 40,000 yôjanas.

[6] Chatur mahâ râjahs.

hien (Outtarabhadra?); on the South a city called Shen-kin (Sudarsana); on the West a city called Tcheon-lo (Tchûra for Tchûdâ ?); on the North a city called Tien-king (Dêvavrata).[1]

The Eastern quarter is governed by Dhritarâshtra Dêvarâjah (Chi-kwo-tien-wang, *i.e.*, the Ruler of Kingdoms). He commissions the Gandharvas and Pisatchas to defend the people of the Eastern continent. (Gandharvas, *i.e.*, those who search out the use of unguents or perfumes. They are the minstrels[2] of Sakra râjah. Pisâtchas, *i.e.*, spirits that feed on æther. The Djñana prasthana Shaster gives Pûtanâs instead of Pisâtchas.)

Over the Southern region rules Virûdhaka Dêvarâjah. (Tsang-chang. So called because he causes the principles of virtue in himself and others to increase and grow (virûda). The Avatamsaka Sutra speaks of him as Pi-lieou-lai.) He commissions the Kumbhândas and Prêtas to defend men of the Southern continent. (Kumbhândas are lurking ogres (yen-mi-kwai, where yen is read with the first tone, so as to correspond with the Sanscrit root "kumb," conf. cumbo). Prêtas are the highest order of famishing spirits (hungry ghosts). The Western side is governed by Virûpâksha Dêvarâjah.[3] He commissions the Nâgas and the Pûtânas to defend the people of the Western continent. (Pûtânas are stinking Prêtas (hungry spirits). The Avatamsaka gives Pisâtchas instead of Pûtânas.)

Over the Northern region rules Vâisravana (the renowned) Dêvarâjah. (So called because his renown is spread through-

[1] The above particulars are found in the Dîrghâgama and the Djñana prasthana Shaster.

[2] Vide Monier Williams' Sanscrit Grammar, § 108 b.

[3] In the Chinese it is "confused speech," where the roots appear to be virûpa, "distorted," and paxa, in the sense of "reply" or "assertion." The other derivation which the Chinese tika gives—"large eyes as the peacock"—is from virûpa and axa or axi, an eye. The former derivation seems to have some allusion to the confusion of language at Babel —the Western world—whilst the latter seems to refer to the fable of Europa.

out the world. The Avataṁsaka calls him Pi-sha-man.) He commissions the Yakshas and Rakshas to defend men of the Northern continent. (Yakshas are swift demons who bring diseases. Rakshas are men-eaters.) The four Kings have twenty-eight ministering spirits (according to the Suvarna prabhasa). They are subject to sexual desires as men (according to the Âgama Sûtras). The four Kings have each ninety-one sons, possessed of illustrious power; and all called by the title of Kings, and able to defend the ten regions of space.[1]

All mountains, rivers, forests, territories, and cities, and all spirits, are included in the charge of the four Kings (Djñana Shaster).

Each King has eight generals (tseang kwan, Shogoons), in all thirty-two. These circumambulate the four continents to protect the disciples of Buddha. Amongst these generals the supreme is Vidêha, and he makes it his particular care to defend the Bikshus,[2] and to defeat the craft of Mâra, by supplying strength to those who are under his temptation.

ON BEING BORN IN THIS PARTICULAR PARADISE.

5. The Âgama Sutra says: "On being first born as a Dêva in the abode of the four Heavenly Kings, there is a spontaneous production by the mode called apparitional birth. Being found seated on the knees of a Dêva, there appears of itself a precious vessel filled with Heavenly food, partaking of which the new-born being grows in size like the rest of the Dêvas. They then enter the baths to wash; after which the different kind of perfume trees bending down provide them with every kind of unguent for anointing their bodies. Again, there are different kinds of kalpa

[1] From this account we gather that the four Kings symbolize the four Seasons, the sons of the four Kings the days of the year, and the twenty-eight ministers the days of the month.

[2] Hence his figure is generally inserted at the end of Buddhist Sûtras in China, to denote the useful office he discharges.

trees which produce garments, from which they can select every sort of robe to wear. Again, there are trees covered with ornaments, trees for hair-dressing, trees with vessels (for food, etc.), fruit trees, pleasure trees (or music trees); so that each Dêva, according to his liking, may select what he pleases; neither bound to go here nor there; provided with endless sources of joy; their palaces surrounded by gardens and refreshing lakes of water: thus they pass their lives.

The Hi-shai Sûtra says: "At the time of being born among the four Kings, one's appearance is like that of a child twelve years of age, seated on the knees or haunches of father or mother. As soon as one is thus born, suddenly there appears a precious vessel full of heavenly Sudâ (nectar or Sôma) and Heavenly wine; according to one's degree of merit is the colour of the flesh, either white, or red, or black. Having partaken of the food and drink, the size of the body increases to the stature of full-grown men and women.

THE KIND OF CONDUCT WHICH LEADS TO SUCH A BIRTH.

6. The Hi-shai Sutra says: "Every one who has led a life (one life) of complete virtue, in body and speech and thought, at the time of death will be born in Heaven; as the knowledge of this scene disappears, the knowledge of the superior condition begins to be experienced. Persons born in this condition are possessed of the same senses as they had in the world. If born as a man, they find themselves sitting on the knees of lovely women; if born as women, they find themselves in the embrace of the heavenly Kings. Hence there is the same distinction there as here, of male and female."[1]

[1] This description of heavenly pleasures, according to Buddhist ideas, seems to illustrate the sculptures at Sanchi, given in plate xxxvii, figs. 1 and 2. *Tree and Serpent Worship.*

AN ACCOUNT OF THE THIRTY-THREE HEAVENS (TRAYASTRIÑSHAS).

7. The top of Sumeru in length and breadth is 84,000 yôjanas. The level space in the midst of this area, which is fit for dwellings, is 40,000 yôjanas. (The Vibâshâ Shaster.[1] The Nyâyânousâra Shaster[2] says: "The thirty-three heavens are situated on the top of Mount Meru. Each face of this summit is 80,000 yôjanas.") Each of the four corners of the mountain-top has a peak 700 yojanas high. These peaks are ornamented with the seven precious substances—gold, silver, lapis-lazuli, crystal, cornelian, coral, ruby. (This is according to the In-pen Sûtra. The Vibâshâ and the Nyâyânousâra Shaster say the peaks are 500 yôjanas high.) There is a Yaksha spirit called Vadjrapâni who keeps guard in the middle of this Heaven, to protect the Dêvas. On the top of the mountain is a great city called Belle-vue (Sudarsana), 10,000 yôjanas in circuit. The storied gates are 1½ yôjanas high; there are 1,000 of these gates, fully adorned. Each gate has 500 blue-clad yakshas, holding a mace, and fully armed, keeping guard. In the very middle of all is the Golden city, 1,000 yôjanas in circuit. (The Nyayânousâra Shaster says "the superlatively beautiful pavilion is 1,000 yôjanas round. The floor of it composed of pure gold interspersed with every kind of gem. The ground as soft as the Talas cotton, into which the foot sinks up to the ankle.")

The abode of Sakra râjah consists of a city with 500 gates, in the middle of which is a Palace (tower) called Vaijayanta.[3] On each of the four sides are 100 towers, within each of which there are 1,700 chambers, each of which has seven Devîs within it; each of whom is attended by seven handmaidens. All these women are the wives of Sakra, with whom he consorts as he pleases, under different

[1] Composed by Manôrhita. [2] Composed by Vasoubandhou.
[3] Vide *Lal. Vist.*, p. 64, n.

forms. (The Abidharma and Âgamas are in agreement.) The Honourable Mâudgalyâyana, after passing in succession through the various worlds of the small Chiliocosm, declared that there was no such beautiful abode as the Vaijayanta Palace. (The Samyouktâgama.) Within the city are various streets of houses. The Dêvas, according to their degree of merit, occupy abodes therein, few or many. There are 500 smaller streets, and also seven markets (bazaars), viz., the corn market, provision market, clothes market, perfume market, amusement market, artificers' market, hair-dressing market; over each of these bazaars is placed a managing officer; the Dêvas and Dêvîs, coming and going as they please, make their purchases in these different marts; there are fixed rules established for conducting the business of these bazaars; there is no payment without the goods are taken (lit. no taking, no giving); if the purchaser is agreeable to the fixed price, then he may take it and go. This is a description of Sudarsana city. But, moreover, there are districts, departments, and hamlets belonging to the Dêvas, and surrounding the central city in every direction (the In-pen Sûtra). These compose the thirty-three Heavens. The length and breadth of these various towns, 60,000 yôjanas; they are surrounded by a sevenfold city wall, a sevenfold ornamental railing, a sevenfold row of tinkling curtains; beyond these a sevenfold row of Talas trees. All these encircle one another, and are of every colour intermingled, and composed of every precious substance. The city walls are 400 yôjanas high, and 50 yôjanas broad. The four faces of the city wall, moreover, are at intervals, 500 yojanas apart; in the midst (of each face) is a ready-opening gate; all the gates are 30 yôjanas high, and 4 yôjanas broad; these gates are provided with moveable towers (lôw-loo) and every kind of defensive implement; whilst every sort of enjoyment and enchanting pleasure is provided for the occupants.

Outside the city of Sudarsana, on each side of it, is a beautiful Park: the first is called the Chariot Park, on the east side; the second is called the Park for athletic exercises, on the

south side; the third is called the promiscuous forest Park, on the west side; the fourth is called the sportive forest Park, on the North side. In each of these Parks is a Tower erected over the relics of Buddha, to wit—in the first, over his hair; in the second, over his garments; in the third, over his ashes;[1] in the fourth, over his tooth. Each park is 1,000 yojanas round; and each is provided with a magic lake,[2] fifty yojanas round, filled with water possessing the eight peculiar excellencies. On the north-east of the city is a Yuen-shang tree,[3] the flower of which on opening emits a perfume which can be perceived at a distance of one hundred yojanas when the wind is fair, and even against the wind at a distance of fifty yojanas. On the south-west of the city is a Preaching Hall,[4] where the thirty-three Dêvas hold religious discussions, and decide religious questions. In the middle of this hall is a royal throne (siñhâsana), on which Sakra seats himself, with sixteen Dêvas on either side, whilst flanking these on the right and left are the two Great Warriors. One of the four Kings keeps guard at each gate, to wit, on the eastern side Dhritarâshtra with his chief minister Kwan-lu; on the southern side Virûdhaka; on the western side Virûpâksha; on the northern side Vâisravana. These four Kings inform Sakra of the good or evil going on in the world; on the eighth day of each month the chief minister of each of the four Kings goes to and fro the earth to inspect what is going on; on the 14th day the eldest son (koumâra) of each of the Kings visits the earth; on the fifteenth day each of the Kings in person does so; they observe how far virtue is on the increase among men, or the contrary; if there are but few who observe the precepts and bestow charity, then Sakra is grieved, because in this case he knows the

[1] The text is here defective: I have supplied the word "ashes."

[2] Jou-i, *i.e.*, conformable to one's inclination.

[3] Explained in a note as the Po-li-che-to-lo Tree; it may perhaps be the Palâsa palm.

[4] Literally, a hall of the excellent Law (Saddharma).

number of Dêvas will decrease, and the Asûras increase.[1] Originally, when Sakra was a man, because of his great charity, he was called Sak-Devânâm[2] (*i.e.*, able to rule the Gods); and because of his family he was called Kusika;[3] and because of the name of his principal queen, Sachi,[4] he was called Sachîpati.[5] Because of the thousand kinds of judgment he gives, from his tribune, he is called the thousand-eyed; and because he rules the thirty-three Dêvas, he is called Indra.[6] (The Avataṁsaka says that Sakra's body possesses a 1000 eyes, and his hand holds the Vadjra from which the lightning proceeds. The Saddharma prakâsa sâsana says that he possesses 1000 hands.)

It may be asked, What is it determines the period of day and night in Heaven? We reply, It is determined by the closing of the Padma flower, and the opening of the Utpala flower: in the former case it is night; in the latter day (Vibasha Shaster).

At the time when a Dêva is about to be born in this Heaven, one of the Devîs finds a flower in her hand; she knows by this sign that a child will be born to her; after seven days the birth transpires; the new-born Dêva acquainted with the Law proceeds into the midst of a Royal Palace, on which he is greeted by a lordless Devî, who says—Illustrious youth! well come! this is your abode; I am your handmaiden; let me attend you! (This is extracted from the Sûtra of the Rishi Vyâsa.) Again, when the Dêva râjahs desire to ramble about, the Devîs surround them and strike up every sort of pleasant music; on arriving at the Palace of any other Dêva, he goes forth to conduct them within, where they sit down and enjoy the sound of pleasant music, and eat Divine Sudâ[7] and drink Divine

[1] This, the Chinese Editor observes, is extracted from the Abidharma Shaster. He adds that, according to the Sûtra of the Rishi Vyâsa (pi-ye-sien-king), the Preaching hall of Shakra has 84,000 pillars, and whoever enters it is strictly forbidden to commit any act of impropriety.

[2] Sik-tai-houan-in. It may be a contraction of Sakdevêndra.

[3] Kiao-she-ka. [4] She-chi. Vide *J.R.A.S.*, vol. i, 1864, p. 92.

[5] She-chi-poh-ti. [6] In-tai-li. [7] Suto.

nectar (ambrosia), whilst all the Devîs are only too agreeable to afford them every indulgence. Having finished the visit, they proceed forthwith to another Palace, where the same pleasures await them, and so in succession throughout the thirty-three Heavens. Every palace is decorated with precious trees, lovely gardens, ornamental boundaries, and all of different colours, some like yellow gold, some like shining silver, others of crystal, lapis-lazuli, and so on. Then, again, some are composed of two sorts of the above precious substances; some of three; others of four; and others of all seven. So the beautiful appearance of all is different. Again, if one or two Dêvas wish to travel, either in chariots or boats, the same kinds of pleasure are indulged in; the Apsarasas laugh and chat and sing and play; they stroll about and enjoy themselves as they list; leading each other and exciting each other to love.

If, however, the hearts of the Dêvas become too inflamed and they continue going here and there, indulging themselves to excess, then Sakra goes forth in his royal chariot and exhorts them not to give way to undue pleasure, but rather to prepare merit for themselves by self-denial. Then the Gods, respectfully acquiescing, go their way and return to their several Palaces. (This is extracted from the Saddharma prakâsa sâsana Sutra. This Sutra says that Sakra has attained to the first step of Srôtâpanna, in Buddhist excellence.)

THE CHARACTER OF THE KARMA WHICH LEADS TO BIRTH IN THE TRAYASTRIÑSHAS HEAVENS.

8. The Djñana Prasthâna Shaster says: "In old times there was a Brahman of the family Kusika, who, with his 32 friends, acquired such religious merit that, at the end of their lives, they were all born on the top of Sumeru; Kusika became heavenly Ruler (tien chu); and the thirty-two men became his chief ministers."

Another authority says that "after the Nirvana of Kasyapa

Buddha, there was a woman whose heart prompted her to raise a tower (over his ashes); in reward for which she became Heavenly Ruler, and the thirty-two men who assisted her became her chief ministers."

Another authority says: "Whoever perfectly practises the ten virtuous rules, will be born in the Trayastriñshas Heavens."

The Dirghâgama Sutra says: "Whatever follower of Buddha acts up to the Rules of a Brahma-chari, at the end of life shall be born in the thirty-three Heavens, and possess the five excellencies, viz., long life, beauty, renown, bliss, and personal address."

Another authority says:[1] "Whatever priest or priestess observes the 250 Rules of the Pratimôksha shall be born in the thirty-three Heavens."

Another Sutra[2] says: "The reward of those who wash (the feet of) a priest is birth in Heaven."

The Samyuktâgama Sûtra says: "Whoever bestows in charity beautiful garments, and loves to engage in religious exercises, gives incense, and choice food, does not kill, does not covet, or get angry, gives food to the poor, affords proper hospitality to priest and priestess, shall be born in Heaven, in abodes corresponding to the character of body; if the body is golden-coloured, they shall enjoy superlative happiness."

The Saddharma prakâsa sâsana Sûtra says: "Those who keep the ten commandments will be born in Heaven." Again it says: "Those who commit theft or murder or adultery, if they are born as men, their bodies are of a miserable colour, without comeliness or grace; and if by chance they are born in Heaven, their appearance is very inferior, and they are slighted by the Devîs; they are objects of ridicule to the Dêvas, and are always worsted in contending with the Asuras.

The Fah-yuen says: "Whoever avoids killing animals

[1] Viz., the Shen-kai-king; the Sutra of excellent Rules.

[2] Viz., the Wan-chih Sûtra.

shall be born in the place of the four Kings; neither killing nor stealing he shall be born in the Trayastriñshas heaven; if he also avoids adultery he shall be born in the Yama heaven; if he also avoids lying he shall be born in the Tusita heaven; if he keeps all the commandments and cultivates the seven excellencies of speech and body, he shall be born in the Nimala and Paranimita heavens.

A CONSECUTIVE ACCOUNT OF THE THREE WORLDS.

9. In the midst of the inferior region of space is the great wind circle, 160,000 yojanas high (Kosha Shaster); the water circle, 80,000 high, and 123,450 yojanas wide. By the combined energy (karma) of all living creatures, the water is not dispersed, just as food not yet digested is retained in the system.[1] Above the water circle is the gold circle, 320,000 yojanas high, and according to the Kosha Shaster of the same breadth as the water circle. This gold circle is formed by a wind which constantly blows on the surface of the water circle, just as cream is formed on the surface of milk. (According to the In-pen Sutra this gold circle is 3 lakshas and 20,000 yojanas thick, *i.e.*, 320,000 yojanas.) The earth circle is 68,000 yojanas thick. Within the circular range of Mountains is the Salt Sea, then the seven concentric circles of golden Mountains, then the Fragrant Sea, and in the midst of this Mount Sumeru. Ascending this mountain by stages of 10,000 yojanas, there are the abodes of various Dêvas; the first is called "strong-hand," the second "chaplet-holding," the third the "ever-free," and the fourth the Sun, Moon, and Star Dêvas,[2] and above these the "Four Kings." Below Mount Sumeru are other three levels, where dwell the inferior Dêvas. All these abodes are surrounded by a sevenfold wall; here it is the Yakshas and Rakshas live under the command of the "Four Kings."

Arriving at the crest of the mountain, we find the city

[1] In-pen Sutra. Mâha Nidana?

[2] For an account of these Dêvas, vide Burnouf, Introd., 600.

Sudarsana, and the abode of the thirty-three Dêvas. Above this, 40,000 yôjanas (others say 160,000), is a cloud-like region, adorned and perfected with the seven precious substances, where dwells the Dêva Yâma; above this 10,000 yojanas there is a cloud-like region where the Tusita[1] Dêvas dwell; above this 10,000 yojanas is a cloud-like region where the Nirmânarati[2] Dêvas dwell; above this 10,000 yojanas is a cloud-like region where the Paranirmita[3] Vasavartin Dêvas dwell. Thus in regular succession ascending upwards we at length arrive at the point where "form no longer exists" (bhavâgra).

[The above account is extracted from the Vibasha Shaster, which also states that the width of these heavens increases in a double ratio from 40,000 yojanas to 640,000 yojanas.]

According to the In-pen Sutra, "10,000 yojanas above the To-lo Heaven (Trayastriñshas) is the Yama Heaven, and above this ten thousand yojanas is the Tusita Heaven, so on up to the Brahma Kayika[4] Heaven, all which form the Maha[5] Rupa Loka. Above the Brahma Kayika Heaven, comes the Abhâsvara[6] Heaven; 10,000 yojanas above this is the Subhakritsna[7] Heaven; above this the Vhrihatphala[8] Heaven; above this the Avriha[9] Heaven; above this the Atapa[10] Heaven; above this the Sudarsana[11] Heaven; and above this the Akanishta[12] Heaven.

According to the Abidharma Shaster, the words of Buddha are these: "the distance of the Brahma lokas from the earth is such that if a man were to hurl a great stone 1,000 cubits square from those abodes, on the 15th day of the 9th month, then if nothing were to intercept its

[1] Teou-chou-tien. [2] Fa-loh-Tien, "rejoicing in transformation."

[3] Ta-fa-tien, "other transformation."

[4] Fan-shin, "body of Brahma." [5] Ma-lo-po.

[6] Kwong-yin, "luminous voice." In this region no words are used, but by means of fixed contemplation brightness issues from the body. Ch. Ed.

[7] Pien-tsing-tien, "diffused purity."

[8] Kwang-kwo-tien, "wide fruit." [9] Puh-tso, "no impurity."

[10] Puh-fan, "no trouble." [11] Shen-kin, "beautiful to see."

[12] Ho-ka-ni-cha.

way, it would reach the earth on the same day of the following year, whereas from the Akanishta Heaven a great mountain being hurled down would take 65,535 years to reach Jambudwîpa."

The Djnâna prasthâna Shaster says: "If a stone ten cubits square were dropped from the first tier of the Rupa Lokas, it would require 18,383 years to reach the earth."

RESPECTING THE SIZE AND LONGEVITY OF THE DÊVAS.[1]

10. With respect to the six heavens of the World of Desires,[2] the size of the bodies of the "Four Kings,"[3] is half a li, the weight of their garments half a tael (ounce), and fifty years of men equal one of their days and nights; they live 500 years.

In the Trayastriñshas Heaven the size of the body is one li, the weight of the garments six chu (one fourth of an ounce), one night and day equal 100 years of men, and they live 1,000 of these years.

In the Yama Heaven, the height of the body is one li and a half, their garments three chu (scruples) in weight, one night and day equals 200 years of men, and they live 2,000 of these years.

In the Tusita Heaven, height two li, weight two chu, life 4,000 years, each year being 400 years of men.

In the Nirmâna rati Heaven, height two and a half li, weight one chu, duration of life 8,000 years, each year being equal to 800 years of men.

In the Parinirmita-vasavartin Heaven, the height is three li, weight of garments half a scruple, and they live 16,000 years, each year of which is equal to 1,600 years of men.

[1] For bodily size we follow the Kosha; for the character of the garments the Dirghâgama Sutra; for the duration of life the Kosha and Abidharma. Ch. Ed.

[2] Yuh-kai, *i.e.*, Kama-loka.

[3] Chatur-mahâ-râjah.

In the Mâra-vasanam[1]-Heavens, the weight of garments is 128th of an ounce, and the years of their life 32,000.

In the Rupa-loka they use kalpas to measure the duration of life, and they wear no garments, there being no distinction of sexes. In the first Dhyâna of this Loka there are three heavens, viz., 1—Brahma-parishadya,[2] years half a Kalpa (that is, a medium Kalpa; one half of which is equal to twenty small Kalpas); height of body half a yojana (*i.e.*, twenty li). 2—Brahma-purohita,[3] length of life, one Kalpa (forty little Kalpas), height of body, one yojana (forty li). 3—Mahâbrahmâ,[4] duration of life, one Kalpa and a half, height of body, one yojana and a half. In the second Dhyâna there are three heavens, viz., 1—The Parîttâbha,[5] years, two great Kalpas (a great Kalpa includes the four periods of formation, completion, destruction, and void); height of body, two yojanas (the glory of their body however is very small, hence the name parîttâbha). 2—Apramânabha,[6] length of years, four Kalpas; height of body, four yojanas. 3—Abhâsvara,[7] length of years, eight Kalpas, height of body, eight yojanas. In the third Dhyâna, three heavens. 1—Parîttasubha,[8] duration of life, sixteen Kalpas, height of body, sixteen yojanas. 2—Apramânasubha,[9] years, thirty-two Kalpas, height, thirty-

[1] Mo-lo-po-seun, *i.e.*, Mâra-vasanam, or abode of Mâra; vide Burnouf, Introd., 617.

[2] Fan-chong-tien. The Avatamsaka Sutra places the Brahma-kayika heaven first. Ch. Ed.

[3] Fan-fu-tien. [4] Tai-fan-tien.

[5] Siau-kwong-tien. The Avatamsaka places the Kwong-tien first, that is, the Âbha.

[6] Wou-liang-kwong-tien, "measureless glory."

[7] Kwong-yin, "bright voice." When these Dêvas desire to converse, brightness issues from their mouths. Ch. Ed.

[8] Siau-tsing-tien. The Avatamsaka Sutra places the Subha heaven first. These Dêvas, because they are unaffected by any sensual forms of pleasure, are called "pure"; but because their purity is small compared with the higher stages, they are termed paritta subha, *i.e.*, small or inconsiderable purity.

[9] Wou-liang-tsing-tien.

two yojanas. 3—Subhakritsna,[1] years, sixty-four Kalpas, height, sixty-four yojanas. The fourth Dhyâna includes nine heavens. 1—Anabhrakha,[2] years, 125 Kalpas, height 125 yojanas. 2—Punya-prasava,[3] years, 250 Kalpas, height, 250 yojanas. 3—Vrihat-phala,[4] years, 500 Kalpas, height, 500 yojanas. 4—Asangisattras,[5] 500 Kalpas, 500 yojanas. 5—Atapa[6], years, 1,000 Kalpas, height, 1,000 yojanas. 6—Wou-jeh-tien,[7] years, 2,000 Kalpas, height, 2,000 yojanas. 7—Sudrisa,[8] years, 4,000 Kalpas, height, 4,000 yojanas. 8—Sudarsana,[9] years, 8,000 Kalpas, height, 8,000 yojanas. 9—Akanishta,[10] years, 16,000 Kalpas, height, 16,000 yojanas. In the Arupa Loka there are four heavens. 1—Âkâsânantyâyatanam,[11] years, 2,000 Kalpas. 2—Vijñânânantyâyatanam,[12] years, 40,000 Kalpas. 3—Akiñchanyâyatanam,[13] years, 60,000 Kalpas. 4—Naivasañjnânâsañjnâyatanam,[14] years, 80,000 Kalpas.

The Agama Sutra says: "In all these worlds the inhabitants are equally liable to birth, disease, old age, and death. As they emerge from these heavens they enter the lower world again."

The In-pen Sutra says: "All creatures in these different worlds are liable to birth, old age, and death; just as they are born so they abide; there is no passing beyond these limits. For this reason the name is given to the Sakwala "Saha," and also "Abhaya." All the other worlds throughout the regions of space are similarly divided.

[1] Pien-tsing-tien.
[2] Wou-yun-tien, "the cloudless."
[3] Fuh-sing-tien, "happy birth."
[4] Kwang-kwo-tien, "extensive fruit."
[5] Wou-siang-tien, "without perceptive mind" (sanjnyá).
[6] Wou-fan-tien, "no trouble."
[7] I am unable to supply the Sanscrit here, unless it be Avriha. The meaning is "without heat."
[8] Shen-kien, "beautiful to see."
[9] Shen-in, "beautiful appearance."
[10] Sih-kau-keng-ti, "the summit of form."
[11] Hung-wou-pien-chu-tien.
[12] Shi-wou-pien-chu-tien.
[13] Wou-sho-yau-chu-tien.
[14] Fi-fi-siang-chu-tien.

THE CHARACTER OF THE KARMA THAT RESULTS IN BIRTH AS ONE OF THE DÊVAS.

11. The Tchi-to Shaster[1] says: "There are three degrees of excellence amongst those born in the World of Desire (Kama-loka), viz., superior, middle, and inferior. Those belonging to the first are born in one of the six upper heavens; in the middle kind are those born rich among men; in the inferior kind are those born as poor men." Again it says: "The upper class are born as Dêvas, the middle class as men, the lower class as Asûras.[2] For Asûras are possessed of qualities (characteristics) like Dêvas, only their heart being clouded, they are prone to error, and find difficulty in embracing truth (reason)."

The work known as the "Doctrine of the four Religious Schools,"[3] says: "Those are born in the heaven of the Four Kings, and in the Trayastriñshas Heaven, who practise thoroughly the ten excellent rules. Those are born in the Yama Heaven and upwards who practise in addition that imperfect form of fixed composure (Samadhi) known as the Kama-Rupa-Samadhi."

Another work says: "By personal purity and earnest contemplation, we overleap the limits of the World of Desire, and enter on the World of Forms."[4]

The Karma Vibhâga Sutra says: "By completely fulfilling the ten rules of virtue, one is born in one of the heavens of the Kama Loka. By a less scrupulous observance of these rules, but by practising in addition the rules of fixed composure (samadhi) one is born in one of the heavens of the Rupa Loka. By practising complete composure of mind one is born in the Arupa Loka."

[1] This may be the same as the Djñana prasthâna Shaster.
[2] Shau-lo. [3] Sse-kiau-i.
[4] This is the substance of the extract.

ON THE COMPARATIVE LUSTRE OF THE BODIES OF DÊVAS AND MEN.

12. The Tchi-to Shaster says: "With reference to the different degrees of glory belonging to the various Dêvas, those born in the heavens of the Kama Loka vary in brightness according to their merits, from that of a lamp to that of the sun and moon. In the Rupa Loka, in consequence of the practice of contemplation and the absence of all impure desires, the Dêvas attain to the Samadhi, known as the 'brightness of fire' (agnidhâtu samadhi), and their bodies become more glorious than the sun and moon. This excellent glory results from their perfect purity of heart."

The everlasting glory of Buddha, though but one ray of it issued from his face, was sufficient to quench that of all the Dêvas, though infinitely removed from him. Kusika[1] observing this, said within himself, "The excellent glory of Buddha is sufficient to quench that of all the Dêvas,—how then shall not the brightness of his wisdom destroy the darkness of my folly."

The Dirghâgama says: "The brightness of the glow-worm cannot be compared to that of a lamp, nor that of a lamp to the brightness of a torch, nor that of a torch to that of a burning pyre, nor that of a burning pyre to the glory of the 'Four Kings,' nor theirs to that of the Dêvas of the thirty-three heavens, nor theirs to that of the Dêvas of the Rupa Loka, nor theirs to that of Mahêshwara, nor his to that of Buddha, nor the combined glory of all these to the glory of the law of the Four Truths (âryâni satyâni)."[2]

[1] Kusika is sometimes used as a title of Sakra.

[2] These truths, as is well known, distinguish the earliest form of Buddhist doctrine from the later developments of the schools. They are —1. Sorrow is inseparable from sentient existence; 2. Desire is the cause of the accumulation of sorrow; 3. There is a way for the extinction of Desire, and therefore of Sorrow; 4. This way is found in the "four paths," *i.e.*, by becoming a disciple.

Dharma[2] says: "Of all degrees of glory, the glory of wisdom is the chief; and of all lustre-giving (ming) powers the lustre of the heart is chief."

The Abidharma says: "Beings born in Jambudwipa are of all colors; in the west and east continents some are black, and some like those of Jambudwipa; in the north continent men are all white. The 'Four Kings' are of the four colors: purple, red, yellow, white. All the Dêvas of the Kama Loka are colored according to the hue of the flower they first see after their birth in these heavens: if the flower is purple, so are they; and so, whether it be red or yellow, or white."

Again it says: "Brâhma Râjah is white, like silver, his garments golden colored. The Rupa Loka Dêvas are both yellow and white."

ON THE RELATIVE PURITY OF FOOD.

13. The Hi-shai Sutra says: "There are four sorts of food. 1—Corruptible food (*i.e.*, capable of being digested); this is that used by men and the Dêvas of the six Kama Loka Heavens. 2—Food that is partaken of by contact only. 3—Food that is partaken of by contemplation. 4—Food that is partaken of by knowledge of it. [Men *eat*. The Kwai-Shin *touch*. The occupants of the Dhyâna Heavens *contemplate*. The Dêvas of the highest worlds (as well as the occupants of the Narakas) *know*]."

In the Kama Loka Heavens—if the merit of the Dêvas be large—then whatever food or drink they desire, is produced readily, ambrosia, and delicacies of every kind come of themselves. If their merit is small, then, although there is a sufficiency of food and drink, it is not always according to desire.

Another Sûtra says: "According to the merit of the Dêvas, so is the colour of the food which is found self-pro-

[1] This may mean either "the Law says," or, "Dharma," the Patriarch of that name, says.

duced in their precious vessels. Superior merit procures white food; medium merit, yellow food; inferior merit, red food."

The Saddhama Prakâsa Sâsana Sutra says: "Above the Yama Heaven up to the summit of the Rupa Loka the merit of the Dêvas is equal; but below in the Trayastriñshas Heaven it is not so, being either little or much; if much, then there is a superabundance of everything; if little, then, although the Dêvas have both clothes and palaces, yet they have not always a sufficiency of food." [There are also Dêvas of such scanty merit that they are sometimes seen in Jambudwîpa plucking sour berries to eat. When men see their miserable appearance, and ask them who they are they reply we are Asuras (fi-jin, not-men), Dêvas, alas! but of scanty merit! We have palaces and garments, but no food to eat; we come down here therefore to look for it: we kept the precepts, but we did not exercise charity. *Ch. Ed.*]

THE THREE WORLDS AND THE NINE EARTHS.

14. Speaking generally, we say that there are three worlds (lokas), and nine earths (bhûmis).

First, the six heavens of the Kama Loka; the two lower ones are called the Material[1] Heavens, the four upper ones the Spacious[2] Heavens; the Four Kings who govern the four quarters, and the Traystriñshas belong to the former. With respect to the four others, we extract the following from a work called the Sse-kiau-tsih: "1—The Yama Heaven (the meaning of which is virtuous, or excellent time), so called because they distinguish their time by the opening and shutting of flowers. 2—The Tusita Heaven (the meaning of which is sufficiency of knowledge, or footsteps of knowledge), so called because they have had taste of real happiness, resulting from suppression of the five desires.

[1] Earth-dwelling Heavens.

[2] "The spacious Firmament."

3—The Nirmâna-rati Heaven, because the Dêvas derive their happiness from the transforming influence of virtuous principles. 4—The Parinirmita-vasavartin, because they are able to exert transforming power in their own case as well as for others.

The Lau-Tan Sutra says:[1] "Between the Kama Loka and the Rupa Loka, there is a distinct locality, the dwelling of Mâra. This Mâra, filled with passion and lust, destroys all virtuous principles, as a stone grinds corn. His palace is 6,000 yojanas square, and is surrounded by a seven-fold wall."

The names just given are those of the Heavens of Desire (Kama Loka), so called because the beings who occupy them are subject to desires of eating, drinking, sleeping, and love. They are otherwise called the abodes of the five orders of sentient creatures (Dêvas, men, asuras, beasts, demons).

Next come the eighteen heavens of the Rupa Loka. In these the pollutions of sensual desires are removed, but still there are substantial forms, and hence the name "World of Forms." Their general collective title is "the Worlds of the Brahmas," because of their purity. The distinctive title is "the Heavens of the four Dhyânas," because all disturbing influences are removed from them, and those who dwell in them are employed in contemplation (dhyâna). This is the world where those seek their reward who excel in human wisdom, and have passed beyond the ordinary standard of knowledge. As to the first Dhyâna, the Kosha Shaster calls it "the happy land where there is no birth," so called because the carnal modes of birth common in the Kama Rupa are here unknown, and there is some approach to rest and peace. The second Dhyâna, according to the Kosha, is named "the Earth where dwells ecstatic joy" (or the joy of ecstacy, or samadhi), because here is enjoyed tranquillity unruffled as the surface of smooth

[1] Pinda-dhana Sûtra.

water, and all anxieties or interruptions cease. The third Dhyâna is called "the land of supreme bliss, resulting from the removal of (ordinary sources of) joy." For here the heart, although separate from such joys, is of itself sufficient for perfect bliss. The fourth Dhyâna contains nine heavens, the five upper ones of which admit of no return to the World of Desire. The general name of this Dhyâna is the Pure Earth, in which all religious exercises (nim) are given up," (or it may be in which all *thought* is given up).

Above these Dhyânas comes the Arupa Loka, containing four heavens. In these heavens there is no material reward resulting from Karma, but there is an ecstatic state of real existence; here dwell those disciples of Buddha (sheng-wan) who have not yet attained the imperishable nature. Here also is the exceptional place of reward for those unbelievers who are freed from "knowledge or belief arising from names or words."[1] Hence there is a mixture here, not agreeing in one, except so far as they are freed, in common, from all affections resulting from the organs of sense and their objects (arupa scandha; wou sih wan). [Here follows an account of the Arupa Heavens, similar to that already given; there is a note appended to the account, which states that philosophers and heretics (*i.e.*, those belonging to the six schools (sadarsana)) speak of those who inhabit these heavens as having arrived at Nirvâna, because they are freed from all "knowledge or belief arising from names or words," but the followers of Buddha, knowing that even here there is a remnant of such knowledge, speak of the highest heaven as "fi wou siang," *i.e.*, "not entirely without knowledge" (where "knowledge" corresponds to sanjnyâ, and is explained in the Sanscrit name of this heaven, viz., Naivasanjnânasanjnâyatanam)].

The Nyâyânousâra Shaster says: "All the Dêvas of all the worlds use the sacred language of mid-India. Not that they learn the use of it, but it is self-explained in the sounds or words themselves."

[1] Wou siang wai tao, where "siang" corresponds to "sanjnya," concerning which vid. Colebrooke. p. 254.

Speaking, however, of this Arupa World, there are two theories. The first says there is no such distinct locality. The Vibasha, for instance, in these words: "In the Arupa Loka there is no material reward, and no distinct locality It is only in the Rupa and Kama Lokas that such things exist. But here is the perfection of their non-existence."

Again it is said there is no such thing as "body" in these worlds. The Kosha, for example, says: "Arupa, that is, no body." Again, the Digest says: "Where there is no material reward, there can exist no personal or individual body." Again, the Surañgama says: "In the four Arupa Heavens the body and the heart (intelligent mind?) being completely destroyed, there being nothing left but the 'Fixed Nature' there can be no such thing as material reward resulting from Karma" (where, according to the comment of Ku-shan, the absence of material reward implies the existence of the reward of a fixed state of existence), (samadhi).

But the second theory with reference to these heavens, is, that there is a distinct locality—for example, the Hi-shai Sutra says: "Far above the Akanishta Heaven, are the Arupa Loka Heavens, up to the highest of all called 'Fi Fi Siang,' all these are names of distinct local heavens."

Again, the Avatamsaka Sutra says: "The power of Bôdhisatwa enabled him to smell the incense of the palaces of the Arupa Loka Heavens." It is also affirmed that bodily forms exist there, *e. gr.*, the Agama Sutra says: "At the time of the Nirvana of Sariputra, the Dêvas of the Arûpa world wept tears, which fell like the small rain of spring." Another Sutra[1] says: "Tathâgata coming into the midst of the Arupa world, all the Dêvas worshipped him."

The school of the Mahâsañghikas affirm that in the Arupa world there is no impure form, but yet that there is a fine or attenuated form of matter. Another authority states that the doctrine of the Hinayana[1] school is that in Arupa Loka there is no material form, but that the

[1] Viz., the Tchong-yin-king

[2] Puh liu i kiau.

doctrine of the developed school is, that there is such material form. Finally, the Nirvâna Sutra says: "What that form of matter is which exists in the Arupa worlds, neither Sravaka nor Pratyêka Buddha can divine."

RESPECTING THE LORD OF THE DÊVAS.

15. In discoursing on this subject, viz., who is the Lord of Heaven,[1] there are two theories. 1—The general, or current opinion, and 2—The exceptional theory. With regard to the first, the current opinion is that Mâra and Brahma are rulers respectively over the Kama Loka and the Rupa Loka. In a work called Shi-ts'ien[1] it is said: "The 'Four Kings' are lords over all below their four Heavens." The Mahâ-shaster[3] says: "Sakra is Heavenly Ruler over two places, (viz., the Trayastriñshas and the abodes of the Four Kings), Mâra Rajah is Lord of the World of Desires (and therefore he dwells in the highest part of it). Mahâ Brahma Rajah is Lord of the Three Worlds." Another work[4] says: "Sakra is Heavenly Ruler over this earth. Brahma Rajâh is Lord over the Universe (sahaloka)." Another work[5] says: "Although Mâra Râjah is Lord of the World of Desire, yet he is not able to interfere with Sakra and the Four Kings, if they are obedient to the law of Buddha." Again, it is said: "Brahma is the Lord of the World of Forms, and also of the Three Worlds, whilst Mâra rules only over the World of Desire," and finally, Fu-hing says: "Brahma is Lord of the Three Worlds, and all the others are merely his ministers."

And now with regard to the exceptional school. There are three opinions here also; first that which confines its remarks to Brahma Rajah; for example, Wan Ku says: "Brahma Râjah is fixed in the midst of the first Dhyâna,—

[1] Tien chu. This is the term used for the Divine Being by the R. C. Mission in China.

[2] *Buddhist Slips* (?) or it may be the name of a writer.

[3] This may be the Mahâvibâshâ Shaster.

[4] Tsing-meng-su; visuddha nama tika?

[5] Tah-nan-shan.

where he rules absolutely, and appoints deputies to look after the lower worlds." Again, "Brahma, that is, the Lord of the Rupa World, also called Sikhi."[1] The Abidharma says: "Above the two Dhyâna Heavens there are no words spoken, and no law, therefore there is no Lord."

The second opinion confines itself to Mahêswara,[2]—for example, the Mâha Shaster says: "Mahêshwara, with eight arms and three eyes, riding on a white ox." Again, it says: "Beyond the Sudavâsadêvas,[3] is the Bôdhisatwa Shi-chu, whose name is the Great Self-Existent (Mahêshwara), the Lord of the Universe (the great Chiliocosm)." The Avataṁsaka says: "Mahêshwara, the Lord of the Universe" (and much more to the same effect).

The third opinion is that which opposes Brahma to Mara; giving the preference to the latter. From the whole subject, it appears that Mahêswara resides on the summit of the Rupa Loka, and is lord of it, while Brahma residing in the middle of the Chiliocosm, superintends the entire government, and is lord in this sense.

RESPECTING THE FOUR DIVISIONS OF THE DHYÂNA HEAVENS.

16. The Book of Comments (shuh) says: "In the old discourses on the different heavens, there is no mention of the system of the four divisions of the Dhyâna Heavens; and from the various accounts given of these it is difficult to select or distinguish satisfactorily. The In-pen Sutra, the Abidharma, and the Vibasha Shaster, all speak of a succession of heavens rising up one above the other, at regular intervals, and all having a fixed locality (earth; bhumi). This is called the "established system;" although it is yet insufficiently supported by evidence.

But now following the Kosha Shaster, it is stated: "that Brahmâ has no distinct abode, only in the midst of the Brahma-purohita Heaven there is a high-storied tower, and

[1] Shi-yih.   [2] Ma-hi.

[3] The Dêvas of the pure abodes, supposed to reside in space as angels.

this is (the abode of Brahma)." The Fah-yuen agrees with this. Mahâ Brahmâ is in fact the chief, the Brahmâ-purohita are his ministers, and the Brahma-parishadya are his people. According to this authority, therefore, these three heavens are together the same as the first Dhyâna, and compose one earth, or flat (bhumi). The school of the Sarvastivadins regard the size of the bodies, and the years of life of the Dêvas of the Vrihat-phala and Asangisattva Heavens as the same; and speak of them as one place. The Surañgama Sûtra says: "Branching out of the Fuh-yau (punya-prasava Heaven) are two others, in the one the happiness resulting from religious merit is complete, this is called the Vrihat-phala Heaven; in the other, both body and mind (heart) are extinct, and this is called the Asangi-sattvas." Again it says: "In the fourth Dhyâna (or in the four Dhyânas) there are five heavens from which there is no return (or five no-return heavens, *i.e.*, occupied by Anâgâmins), and over each level, one recognised Dêva-rajah." From the whole account, it seems that the fourth Dhyâna Heaven consists of five Anâgâmin abodes, and one heaven occupied by unbelievers,—and that these again compose one flat (earth).

Another work says: "Buddha in the Kârunika Râjah Sûtra[1] states: "That the eighteen[2] Brahmâ (heavens) have a distinct ruler, and distinct people in each." Again, it says: "In the middle of the fourth Dhyâna is a Mahâ-subha-râjah,"—and from the testimony of three Sûtras, the Kârunika Râjah, the Surañgama, the Ying-loh, we gather generally that each of the four levels, viz., that of Brahmâ, Âbhâsvara, Parîttasubha, and Vrihat-phala, has a Râjah, a class of ministers, and people. So that the whole conclusion is this, depending on the Mahayana system, from the first Dhyâna up to the fourth, there are four flats or levels, over which the Vrihat-phala is Râjah, the punya-prasava, ministers, and Anabraka, people. The five

[1] Jin-wang-king.

[2] That is, the eighteen heavens composing the Rupa loka.

Anâgâmin, and the one heretical heaven, belong to the punya-prasahas; and the nine heavens above this, together compose one earth (or level). [Whereas the works of the Hinayana system divide the heavens according to the size and longevity of the Dêvas.]

THE OCCUPANTS OF THE HEAVENS.

17. The Vibâshâ Shaster says by way of query: "In the thirty-two heavens (*i.e.*, the six heavens in the Kama Loka, the eighteen heavens in the Rupa Loka, the four heavens in Arupa Loka, and the four Dêva Lokas at the foot of the Sumeru), how many are occupied by the followers of Buddha (saints), and how many by heretics (Fan)?" In reply it states: "Only two are occupied by heretics, and only five by saints; the remaining twenty-five are occupied promiscuously by each. The two occupied exclusively by heretics are first the Mâha-Brahmâ heaven, where Brahmâ dwells; he, indeed, being ignorant of the power of Karma (works) dares to say "I can make and transform (or make by transformation, *i.e.*, create), heaven and earth." Relying on this, he treats others haughtily and disdainfully, therefore saints (Buddhists) cannot dwell with him. And secondly, the Asangisattvas, where heretics alone dwell, depending on that form of Samadhi which is known by the name given to the heaven. They receive as their reward five hundred Kalpas of impersonal (wou sin) existence. This they foolishly speak of as Nirvâna, but when the term of its enjoyment is past, then they are born again in one of the equivocal forms of being—even, as it may happen, in Hell; therefore saints cannot live in this heaven either.

Now the five heavens in which the followers of Buddha alone are born are the five above the Punya-prasarva, viz., the Avriha, the Atapa, the Sudrisa, the Sardarsana, and the Akanishta Heaven; in these dwell Anâgâmin and Rahats alone. The other heavens are occupied by mixed inhabitants.

GENERAL SUMMARY.

10. The expression, "the three worlds," includes the World of Desire, the World of Form, the World without Form. From the diamond circle below, up to the Paranirmita-vasavartin heaven above, the power of sensual desire is felt, and, therefore, all the heavens included in that interval are called by the name Kama Loka. Again, from the Brahma Kayika Heaven up to the Akanishta, in all eighteen, the bodily form of the Dêvas is bright as silver, their palaces yellow like gold, resplendent and glorious, hence the name Rupa Loka. The four heavens above this have inhabitants like jasper clouds,[1] and are like the blue æther for tenuity. The bodies of the Dêvas are composed of four skandha,[2] the fifth, viz., the Rupa Skandha, being absent. Therefore, it is called the Arupa World. These three worlds are sometimes spoken of as the Tribuvanas (san yeu); at other times they are termed the twenty-five bhuvanas, to wit, the four continents, the four evil ways (viz., birth in hell, as a demon, as a beast, as an Asura), the six Worlds of Desire, the double Brahma Heaven, the four Dhyânas, the four Empty Heavens, and the Asangisattva Heaven. In all these worlds or bhuvanas, because there is still a connection with "being," there is only a limited reward, and a remnant of personal existence (wei), and therefore there is a recurrence of life and death.

THE FIVE MARKS OF DECADENCE.

19. The In-kwo Sutra says: "The bodies of the Dêvas are perfectly pure, and without any polluting quality; they are moreover bright and glistening: their hearts are ever full of joy; and there is no disturbing influence to interrupt their happiness. Yet because the fire of lust oppresses them, there are five signs of decadence visible when their term of happiness is drawing to an end. 1. The flowers upon their heads begin to decay. 2. Their eyes begin to

[1] Pih loh, vid. Medhurst's Dict. s. v. pih.

[2] The five skandha are Rupa skandha, vijnyâna skandha, vedânâ skandha, sanjnyâ skandha, sanscâra skandha. Vid. Colebrooke, p. 254.

roll about (as if in anticipation of change). 3. The lustre of the body begins to fade. 4. A moisture exudes from under the arms. 5. They listlessly absent themselves from their proper places." [The Vibashâ agrees with this, except it says nothing about the eyes rolling, or the brightness fading.] Again, it says, that those Dêvas who had originally but a slightly virtuous Karma, when they are about to give up their position as Dêvas, will be born in one of the evil ways; for, having only walked virtuously for the sake of reward, after their brief joy is over they shall reap much sorrow,—just as a man who takes a pleasant poison, the first taste is sweet, but afterwards he comes to great sorrow. Say then, how can the wise covet such joys as these? At first, indeed, these joys, on account of their long duration, may appear everlasting, but when the time comes for their termination, then the Dêvas begin to complain of their imperfect character; so it is whilst in the net of transmigration there can be no real peace, and no lasting joy.[1]

The Tchi-to Shaster says: "Bôdhisatwa, by means of his great spiritual power, could see that even the Dêvas of the Arupa World, for the present absorbed in ecstacy, after their incomplete life be past, will again be born in questionable shape of bird or beast; and so likewise the Dêvas of the Rupa Worlds, after leaving their pure abodes, will again become subject to desire, and eventually return to birth in hell" (just as Udalhambha having arrived at the Asangisattva Heaven of mental absorption, afterwards was born as a flying fox).

The Book of Comments[2] says: "With respect to the various distinctions of the three worlds, and the differences of life in the six paths, as to their origin, this may be found in the intermixture of ideas with respect to matter and

[1] Obs. "yih loh" and compare "yih sin," signifying the unchanging state of existence.

[2] This may perhaps be the large work known "Nan mei ling shu.' Neumann, *Cat. of Shamans*, p. 44.

spirit (rupa and âtman), if these were only let go, and recourse had to the method of "return," provided by our religious system, there would be no more talk of life or death, and there would be an end to that impermanency which is identical with the circle of transmigration through life and death. The ground cause of all sorrow (dukha) is this shadowy confusion of matter and spirit,—hence the Nirvâna Sutra speaks of it as a great river, and the Saddharmapundarika as a house in flames, from which the truly wise, by various methods, escape, and at once overleap the boundaries of the three worlds. And with respect to the rewards proposed by worldly philosophers in the different heavens, they are utterly short of the perfection desired by all really good men, for excellent though they be to a certain extent, they are all terminable, so that the denizen of even the Asangisattva Heaven may hereafter be born as a beast; we should, therefore, above all things, desire to find that which is permanent.[1]

ON THE WAY THE HEART GENERATES THE SIX MODES OF BIRTH.

20. Men all possess a thinking mind (or conscious existence), and so there must be pure or impure thoughts constantly rising. Impure is spoken of, as that which cleaves[2] to sensible objects;[3] pure is that which has no such attachment. Now the case being with men as it is, that there cannot but be connection with sensible objects, if owing to that connection and the attachment which follows, there is generated either covetous desire, aversion, lust, or murder, then this is called "crime," or "evil;" but if, despite such connection with sensible objects, neither of these dispositions be generated, this is called "virtue," or "good." Again, if in the midst of the world a man practise charity, or obey the precepts, or illustrate patience[4]

[1] This is an abstract from the original.
[2] "Tsu" in the sense of upâdâna.
[3] The six dusts or objects of sense.
[4] Practise the paramitas of dana, sila, or Kchânti.

in himself, this, again, is virtue. And as evil or good produces in this world a corresponding Karma, so there will be in the next world, sorrow or joy.

Now, there are three degrees of virtue, and also three degrees of wickedness, each of which has a corresponding degree of happiness or misery attached to it. The first degree of happiness is that called the birth as a Dêva, the second, birth as a man, the third, birth as an Asura. Then there is birth in the lowest degree, in hell: then, as a prêta, and then, as a beast. And according to the character of the fresh Karma acquired in either of these conditions, will be again the consequent kind of birth. This is the constant revolution of the wheel of transmigration. Seeing, then, that the origin of all this is in the thinking power of the heart, Buddha therefore said: "The three Worlds,"—what is this, but the "heart?"—the infinite varieties of phenomenal existence, what are these but the "mind?" Wherefore, we have here the key of the whole matter; sedulously watch against the first thought or association, restrain this power of corrupt or impure reflection, and the task is done; for if in the midst of life there is no cleaving to things, then there can be no Karma, and if there is no Karma there can be no reward or punishment, so that by suppressing the first thought, the six ways of birth come to an end, and the wheel of transmigration is for ever at rest. This is the doctrine of the two "yânas"[1] or "vehicles" by which we escape the possibility of birth; and if over and above this method, the various excellencies of the six paramitas be practised, then we arrive at the great vehicle of the Bôdhisatwa. Other methods for attaining this great object of emancipation, are advocated by those who have not yet attained right reason. These are the heretical schools. With us, however, alone is found the true method; and it is this,—that we must first cast off the trammels of the heart (conscious existence).—

[1] Concerning the three "yânas" or methods of salvation, vide *Lotus*, p. 315. The two "yânas" are those of the Srâvakas and Pratyêka Buddhas. The third "yâna" is that of a Bôdhisatwa.

3. THE GREAT CHILIOCOSM.

The Avataṁsaka Sûtra says: "The three thousand great Chiliocosms owe their perfection to countless influences (or, to numberless causes). The great earth rests on a water-circle, the water rests on wind, the wind rests on space; space is unsupported, the combined Karma of all sentient existence is the ground on which the Kosmical system depends for its maintenance.

The Bôdhisatwa-Pitaka Sutra says: "All the Buddhas, by their insurpassable wisdom, are able to determine the relationships (or qualities) of all the winds and rains. They know that there is a great wind belonging to the world, called Urupâka;[1] it is the influence of the intelligent principle acting in (the minds) of all creatures possessing an intelligent nature, that causes this wind to be moved. The height of this wind-circle is three krôsas (a krosa is as far as a drum can be heard, or as others say, five li). Above this wind in the midst of space is another wind-circle called Jambuka;[2] this wind-circle is ten yojanas high. And so in succession, there are eight thousand wind-circles, the qualities and relationships of which are perfectly known to them. The highest circle of all, which is called the 'all-embracing,' is that on which the water-circle rests; this water-circle is 8,000,000 yojanas high, and supports the great earth; the earth is 68,000 yojanas high; beyond the earth there is the system called the three[3] thousand great thousand worlds."

The Dirghâgama says: "One sun and moon revolving round the four continents, illumine with their brightness one world. So in the midst of a thousand worlds, there are a thousand suns and moons, a thousand Sumeru Râjah mountains, four thousand continents, four thousand great seas,

[1] Ou-lou-po-ka. The derivation seems to be "uru," "wide or vast," and "pâka," "commotion or ebullition." The similarity of the name of this word with the Greek Euroclydon is singular.

[2] Chen-po-ka.

[3] Trisahasra Mahâsahasrôlôkadhâtu. Jul. III, 494.

four thousand evil ways (narakas), a thousand Jemma Râjahs, a thousand Chatur-mahâ Râjahs, a thousand Trayastriñshas Heavens, and so on, up to a thousand Brahmâ Heavens. All these are called, collectively, "a small Chiliocosm;" a thousand small Chiliocosms compose a "medium Chiliocosm," and a thousand medium Chiliocosms, compose a "great Chiliocosm." So that in a great Chiliocosm there are a thousand million Sumeru Râjahs, and the same number of continents, suns, and moons, and so on, up to a thousand million Brahmâ Heavens. The general name for such a collection of worlds, is a single Buddha-ktchêtra."[1]

The Kosha says: "Each thousand-collection of four continents, Meru, Kama Loka, Brahmâ World, is called a little Chiliocosm, a thousand times as many compose a medium Chiliocosm, a thousand times as many again compose a great Chiliocosm. These are all perfected and destroyed together." [In agreement with this are the Samyuktâgama Sûtra, the Nyâyânousara Shaster, the Yôga Shaster, the Djñâna-prasthana Shaster, and others].

The Kin-kwong-ming (Suvarna prabhâsa) says: "At the time when these mortal kings raised with their hands the jars of incense to honour the Sacred Books, the odour thereof

[1] Yih-Fuh-ts'ah. This expression throws some light on the subject of the structure of the Stupa and the Pagoda. It is well known that the circular discs which are placed on the summit of the Chinese Pagoda are called "ts'ahs." These discs were therefore designed to represent "kchêtras" or "earths" of the different Buddhas; or the whole collectively to represent the Buddha-kchêtra of our own system. From this we gather that the whole structure of the Pagoda, with its successive stages, was designed to represent the Buddhist Kosmos, or chiliocosm. But the Chinese Pagoda is allowed to be only a copy of the "Tee," or surmounting ornament of the Indian Stûpa; it follows, therefore, that the Stûpa and Tee were designed to symbolise the visible Kosmos or habitable world, and the worlds of space beyond. In the middle of the Stûpa the relics of Buddha were enshrined, to shew that he was "Lord of the three worlds," or the entire chiliocosm. At the entrance of the Stupa is often found the figure of a Nâga, to denote their particular office, viz., guardians of treasures. On the phrase Buddha-kchêtra, vide *Lotus*, p. 363, f. 38. b.

in a moment of time spread to the utmost limits of the three thousand great Chiliocosms, throughout the 10,000,000 suns and moons, even through 10,000,000 Fi-Fi-Siang Heavens."[1]

The Avatamsaka Sutra says: "At this time, the world-honoured one, from the circles below both his feet scattered 10,000,000 rays of light, which illumined this collection of three thousand great Chiliocosms; so that throughout ten million worlds, ten million seas, and girdles of rocks, and Sumeru mountains, up to ten million Akanishta Heavens, there was no spot where the glory was not perceived."

The Fah-yan-ch'au[2] says: "When a little Chiliocosm is spoken of, then it only extends as far as the first Dhyâna Heaven. A medium Chiliocosm includes the second Dhyâna, because a medium Chiliocosm extends to an equal width with the second Dyâna; and so with a great Chiliocosm this includes the third Dhyâna for the same reason, and therefore it is plain that each great Chiliocosm includes ten million first Dhyâna Heavens; one million second Dhyâna Heavens; one thousand, third Dhyâna Heavens; and only one, fourth Dhyâna Heaven."

The Vibasha Shaster says: "The first Dhyâna is as wide as the four continents; the second Dhyâna is as wide as a little Chiliocosm, the third Dhyâna as wide as a medium Chiliocosm, and the fourth Dhyâna as wide as a great Chiliocosm."[3]

The Shou-Lun says: "The holy words of Buddha cannot be in disagreement, how is it then there are so many differences in the accounts found in the Sutras and Shasters?—for instance, in respect to the number of the mountains

[1] That is, the highest Heaven of the Arupa worlds.

[2] This may be "addenda to the Avatamsaka" or a "copy" of the same Sûtra.

[3] From this it is evident that the extract given above from the Fah-yan-ch'au, in which it is said that a medium chiliocosm is of the same breadth as the second Dhyâna, is incorrect: it should have been, a *little* chiliocosm is of the same breadth, etc. Ch. Ed.

called Sumeru, if we rely on the Agama and Kosha, each great Chiliocosm has one thousand million, whereas the Suvarna prabhâsa and the Âvatamsaka say there are only ten million. Here is a plain disagreement; and so also with respect to the different measurements, and also the contradictory statements relating to the number of the Arupa Heavens—how are these differences to be accounted for? We reply: "Although there are small discrepancies, yet there is an agreement in principles; for although there may be difference as to number, yet the principle of the composition of a great Chiliocosm is uniform, and may be illustrated in this way: A small Chiliocosm is like a string of cash (in which each cash represents one mount Sumeru); a middle Chiliocosm is like a thousand such strings or piles; and a great Chiliocosm a thousand of such thousand strings. Now, although there may be different statements as to the whole number of the cash or coins, yet there is no disagreement as to the ratio of increase." But, again, the exact number in a "lakh" (yeh) differs in different books, some making it ten myriads, others a hundred myriads, and others again a thousand myriads.

And with respect to the measurement of the Dhyâna Heavens, the differences may be accounted for on this ground: if we speak of the Summer clouds which overhang the nine provinces (of China), in reference to the provinces, we say they are nine; if in reference to the departments, we say they are 400; if in reference to the districts, we say there are several thousand; and yet after all the body of clouds is only one.

Respecting the Arupa Heavens, there are two opinions, the Surañgama Sutra speaking of the Arupa Loka as a distinct locality, whilst the Avatamsaka says that above the Rupa Loka there is no local world. But the fact is, in the latter account the condition enjoyed in the Arupa Loka is included, for there is distinct mention made of an Arupa form of contemplation; so that, although only two systems of worlds are expressly named, the three are understood equally in this as the other Shasters.

The Abidharma says: "From the external limit of the top of one Sumeru to the next, is 1,203,450 yojanas, and corresponding distances from centre to centre, and base to base."

Again, it says: "Beyond the little Chiliocosm is a small circular mountain range, as high as the first Dhyâna; outside each medium Chiliocosm a similar range as high as the second Dhyâna; outside the great Chiliocosm a range as high as the third Dhyâna."

Speaking inclusively, therefore, the whole of this vast system from the highest heaven down to the circle of wind, is spoken of as the three thousand great thousand worlds, or in brief, as the great Chiliocosm. It is this system which is perfected and destroyed together, and is spoken of as the Sa-po world (Sahalôka), and is that to which Sâkya Tathâgata limits his revelation of himself.[1]

ON THE LENGTH OF TIME CALLED A KALPA.

2. A Kalpa (kieh) is a general term for a long period. In Sanscrit it is pronounced Kappata,[2] which signifies a great division of time. The length of this period is so great that it cannot be defined by years or months. Therefore, holy men have feigned such comparisons as rubbing down a rock to fine powder;[3] a city of mustard seed, etc., as a means to represent the limits of periods of creation and destruction.

There are several kinds of Kalpas—in brief, they may be summed up as great and little; periods of perfection and destruction.

There is also the division into four, viz., 1. Kalpa of separation; 2. Kalpa of creation or perfection; 3. Kalpa of destruction; 4. A great Kalpa. Or if a larger view be taken, there are six sorts of Kalpas, viz., 1. Kalpa of separation; 2. Kalpa of creation; 3. Kalpa of permanent rest; 4. Kalpa

[1] A representation of this system may be seen Plate xci, fig. 2. "Tree and Serpent Worship;" and fig. 1, and elsewhere.

[2] Kieh-pó-pó-to: perhaps Kappavata; at any rate Pali.

[3] These comparisons may be seen in Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 327.

of destruction; 5. Kalpa of complete void; 6. A great Kalpa. Or if a limited definition be taken, we may say there are three sorts of Kalpas. 1. Small Kalpa; 2. A medium Kalpa; 3. A great Kalpa. But in any case, we may define a Kalpa generally as a lengthened period of time.

ON THE KALPA OF PERFECTION OR RENOVATION (VIVARTA KALPA).

3. The Kalpa of Perfection is referred to that period, after the universe has been destroyed (ground to powder), and for a long time all has been dark and void, when there again arises, owing to the force of the karma of all sentient existence, a wind which excites rain, in the same way as from the beginning the works of creation have been effected.

The Avataṁsaka Sutra says: "The Great Chiliocosm is not perfected by one influence or by one operation, but by countless influences and countless operations. That which is said about the extension of the great cloud, from which descends a great rain, in fact depends on the intimate connection of four kinds of wind-circles, to wit, the circle known as 'capable of holding,' because it holds the great water; the circle known as that 'able to absorb,' because it absorbs the great water; the wind circle known as that 'able to erect and establish,' because it firmly establishes a basis of creation; the wind circle known as the 'perfectly good' (alaṁkarana), because it beautifies and spreads out all things so as to make them good."[1]

So these several circles, excited by the combined karma of all existence and the virtuous principles of all the Bôdhisatwas, cause living things to spring up in their midst, and assume their various offices, according to their purpose.

Again, at the time when the rain descends from the great clouds, there is a sort of rain called "able to destroy," because it is able to destroy the fire which is burning up the world (fire-calamity). Again there is a rain called "able to

[1] It would appear from this account, that the whole of creation or manifestation of things is due to the operation of wind or spirit.

produce," because it is able to produce the great ocean. Again, there is a rain called "able to establish," because it is able to establish the great ocean; again, there is a rain called "able to perfect," because it is able to perfect all the precious substances (mani-gems) of the earth; again, there is a rain called "able to divide,"[1] because it is able to divide and separate the whole universe into its parts.

When the Great Chiliocosm begins to be perfected, all the heavenly mansions of the Rupa-Loka are the first to be completed, and afterwards the mansions of the Kama-Loka heavens, and then the abodes of men and the rest of creatures.

Moreover, as the water of the great cloud rain is of one kind (taste), these different abodes and mansions owe their variety to the character of the different virtuous principles of sentient creatures.

At the time of the first indication that the worlds are about to be renovated, there is a mighty ocean produced, which extends throughout the Great Chiliocosm. This ocean produces a great Lotus,[2] which spreads on every side on the surface of the ocean; the light which shines from it is diffused throughout the universe. At this time Maheshwara and the Dêvas of the pure abode (Suddhavâsa Dêvas), beholding this Lotus, are certified that assuredly in the midst of the Kalpa in which this portent is seen, a Buddha will be born in the world. And so at the appointed time the various winds begin to act, by which the different parts of the universe are perfected.[3]

[1] Wei for neng.

[2] The name of this Lotus given in the text is "gem-like beauteous exhibition of the manifested merit of Tathâgata."

[3] I have omitted the names of these various wind-circles, and the successive work accomplished by them, as there is so much repetition. There is, however, in the account a somewhat exceptional list of the ten Mountain-Kings (parvata râjahs) that surround Sumeru, which I give. "What, then, are the names of the ten mountain ranges? They are these: 1. Kia-to-lo-shan (Gâtra parvata); 2. Sien-jin-shan (Rishigiri); 3. Fei-mo-shan (Vêma parvata); 4. Ta-fei-mo-shan (Mahâvéma parvata); 5. Tchi-shwang-shan (Yugañdhara parvata); 6. Ni-min-to-lo-

The Hi-shai Sutra says: "How, then, is the world renewed after its destruction? Thus; an incalculable time having elapsed after the complete destruction (powder destruction: *i.e.*, completely ground to powder) of the world, there arises a vast cumulous cloud, which spreads abroad and broods above the Brahma heavens. From this there falls a fruitful rain, the drops as large as a chariot-wheel. Through a hundred thousand myriad years the water from this rain gradually accumulates, until up to the very heaven of Brahmâ it spreads out a mighty ocean. The four winds hold it thus collected. At length, after the cessation of the rain, the water having subsided countless yojanas in depth, a mighty wind springs up called O-na-pi-lo (Anavarata?), which, blowing upon the surface of the water, causes it to roll in tumultuous waves, from which a vast accumulated bubble is produced, and blown by the wind till it remains fixed in the midst of space. From this the whole universe is framed, from the Brahma heavens down to the four continents and the circular ranges of mountains; everything is established as it had been before."[1]

Thus, by the mutual excitation of wind and water, every thing is changed and renovated, and after twenty Kalpas the whole universe is perfected.

shan (Nêmiñdhara parvata); 7. Mutchilindi parvata; 8. Mahâmutchilindi parvata; 9. Hiang-shan (Gandha parvata); 10. Sineh-shan (Hima parvati)." For other lists of these mountain ranges, vid. Burnouf Lotus, p. 842.

[1] Compare with this account of the Renovation of the Universe, the lines of Erasmus Darwin—

"Star after star, from heaven's high arch shall rush;
Suns sink on suns, and systems, systems crush,
Headlong, extinct, to one dark centre fall,
And death, and night, and chaos mingle all;
Till o'er the wreck, emerging from the storm,
Immortal Nature lifts her changeful form,
Mounts on her funeral pyre on wings of flame,
And soars and shines, another and the same!"

(From a piece called "The Stars.")

ON THE KALPA OF ESTABLISHMENT.

4. The Kalpa of Establishment is that period of time during which, the universe having been renovated, there is rest and permanence for the exercise of the various offices assigned to living creatures.

The Avataṁsaka Sutra says: "The universe having been completely renovated, then all living things, according to their several kinds, increase and multiply, whether they be creatures that live in the water or the earth, or in heaven (mansions), or in space."

The Dirghâgama says: "When the heavens and the earth again began to be, there was no defined substance,[1] neither was there sun or moon; but the earth bubbled up as a sweet fountain, the taste of which was like virgin honey. Then all the Dêvas of the Âbhâsvara heaven,[2] whose term of happiness was about to expire for another birth (as men), beheld with joy this new-formed earth, so light and etherial in its nature. Descending, therefore, they touched it with a finger and tasted it. Having thus gained a knowledge of its taste, they ceased not to partake of it till they by degrees lost their angelic beauty and splendour, and their spiritual faculty of instant locomotion, and became gross and coarse as men. After this a great black wind arose, which blew upon the face of the waters and produced the sun and the moon. These revolving round Mount Sumeru illuminated the earth (the four continents). On beholding them come forth men were filled with joy—but when they disappeared they were grieved. From this time forth began morning and evening, darkness and light, and the revolving seasons. Now at the time when the Kalpa of renovation first began, and men appeared (as we have de-

[1] Bhâva, the equivalent the Chinese "yeou."

[2] Vide Max Müller's Dhammapada, xxxii. n. 2. With this conceit of the Abhâsvara Gods, or the "Shining Ones," compare John Bunyan's words, "Now as he stood looking and weeping, behold Three Shining Ones came to him and saluted him." Pilgrim's Progress, p. 29.

scribed), there was no distinction of male or female, honorable or mean, but all were born alike in the world, and from this arose the expression "all living things."[1] But so it was, that those who tasted the earth frequently, lost their personal beauty, and became gross; whilst those who tasted it sparingly, still retained their beauty and splendour of face. Hence sprang distinctions, such as excellence and inferiority, and from these came contentions about "yes" or "no." Gradually the taste of the earth was exhausted, and then men began to be angry, and full of anxiety. 'Alas! they said, what misery! the earth no longer retains its taste!' Then was produced a surface to the earth like a thin cake; after which, the surface being destroyed, there was produced a substance soft like flesh, which in its turn disappeared, and a rich loam was of itself generated, like the extract of the peach[2] (or sugar cane)."

The Lau-Tan Sutra says: "The unctuous character of the earth no longer continuing, there was produced a double-stem pŭ-tău plant, whose taste was also sweet. For a long time eating this, the appearance of all (men) was pleasant and jovial. Afterwards, when this disappeared, there was produced a sort of dry powder like bran, without any glutinous qualities, and incapable of being sweetened, after eating which the sexes were developed."

The Nyâyânusara Shaster says: "Moreover, there sprang up of itself an illicit sort of scented paddy, which caused the bodies of those who ate it to become weak and degenerate, and finally the sexes to be developed, and habitual intercourse to ensue."

The Ekottarikâgama Sutra[3] says: "When men began to lust after many things, then the sexes were developed, and

[1] This phrase, "chong sing" is the one commonly used in Buddhist books, to denote "all sentient creatures," or "all things that have breath."

[2] The "p'u t'au," explained afterwards as being the same as the "lin t'ang," probably the "wild vine," or perhaps the "sugar cane."

[3] Tsang-yih-King.

from this came the name of man and wife. Afterwards, when the lustful passion in different creatures continually increased, then was constituted the fixed relationship of marriage; and after this the Abhâsvara Dêvas came down, and were born of women; and thus the race continued to be propagated. Then men began to build cities and towns, and the fruits of the earth which were gathered in the morning ripened again of themselves before the evening, and those gathered in the evening, ripened before the morning."

The Madyamâgama[1] Sutra says: "The grain when four inches in length, had no more reed;[2] men used to gather then as much as they required for the day; after this, they came to gather as much as they wanted for five days; then gradually the grain deteriorated, and when reaped did not grow again, but there sprung up in its place briars and weeds. At this time men were filled with anxiety and grief, so that they shed tears. Each one forthwith began to appropriate a certain amount of land to himself, in order to a fair distribution of the earth's fruits. After this, when they had learned to gather in and store their fruits, they began to pillage and rob each other's land, so that there was no safety, on which they determined to appoint one man as judge, who should protect the people on virtuous principles—rewarding the good, and punishing the bad; whom they agreed to support and enrich from the common stock. They therefore elected a man of commanding presence and conspicuous virtue, and this man they called their Lord. From this circumstance arose the title of people and king; he, indeed, walking in the line of perfect virtue, protected the people as a father and a mother protect their child, and the people venerated him as the child venerates its father; the years of men were very many, and their happiness without bounds."

The Agama says: "At the time of the renovation of the

[1] Chung-ho-hom-king.

[2] The text is here defective.

world, the Abhâsvara Dêvas came down to the earth, each possessed of a shining body, flying as they went, and self-existent. Seeing the earth's crust was fragrant and sweet, they took it, and ate it much. Then they lost their spiritual powers, their bodies became heavy, and their brightness disappeared. The sun and the moon then began to be; and (because men coveted to eat), the richness of the earth came to an end. Then was produced the Po-lo[1] plant; when this disappeared, there was produced a sort of fragrant rice (kang mai), in length four inches, which being cut down in the morning grew again before night. Nourished by this, the distinctions between of male and female began to be exhibited, and men began to do things contrary to purity; this caused them to collect in families, and to become idle and listless, so that they began to think thus: 'It is much labour to gather food for each day's supply, come! let us gather enough for seven days, and store it up.' Then the grain, after being gathered in the morning, did not grow again. So men began to cultivate the ground, and divide it in lots; whereupon they began to rob and pillage each other, and wars and fightings commenced. Then all men agreed to obey one man full of wisdom, called San-mo-to (Sammata), whom they made lord of the soil; all whom he blamed, they agreed to blame, (or, whatever went wrong, they held him responsible), and whatever fruits the class of the landowners obtained, they agreed to apportion a share of it to him as his right—hence sprang the caste of the Kshatriyas. Then, again, there were some men who left their homes and resorted to the mountains to seek wisdom, and to remove themselves from the influence of evil: these were called the caste of the Brahmans. Those who practised the arts of the artificer were called the caste of the Ku-sse (house lords), whilst those who laboured in the fields for their daily bread, were called Sudras (otherwise, pi-she, Vaisyas).

[1] This may be the equivalent of "Vara," an odoriferous shrub; or it is possible it may be connected with the Hebrew פול a leguminous plant.

From among these castes, men who used much consideration, and, in view of the impurity of the world resulting from the sin of covetousness, resolved to forsake their home, and become ascetics, these are called 'Shamans,' and to these we belong."

In the middle of this Kalpa of establishment, the heavens and the earth being perfected, all creatures are at rest. And so twenty small Kalpas elapse. During each of these small Kalpas at the grand climacteric a universal king is born; at the opposite period the earth is destroyed in one of three ways to be described hereafter.

ON THE KALPA OF DECADENCE (SAMVARTTA KALPA).

5. This Kalpa relates to the period when the world and all created things, after the period of establishment has been fulfilled, begin to perish.

The Avataṁsaka Sutra says: "At the time of the conflagration of the great universe, every tree and shrub is burnt up, and the fire extends to the very limit of the earth, even to the great iron mountain circle. There is also a tempest destruction, at which time a furious wind arises, which destroys everything in the universe, and grinds it all to powder. Were it not that this wind is restrained by another, which confines its destructive power to the great Chiliocosm, the whole field of creation throughout space would be completely devastated."

The Abhidharma[1] prakarana sâsana Shaster says: "The Kalpa of destruction (saṁvartta kalpa) relates to the period when the sufferings of those in hell come to an end, and all the outside world is destroyed. Every thing that has life, during twenty small Kalpas, disappears from the world, and even from the superior heavens, and then the destruction of the entire fabric, the universe, ensues. This destruction is either by fire, or water, or wind."

[Here follow extracts from the Abhidharma and Samyuktahridaya Shasters, to the same effect.]

[1] Hien-tsong-lun.

ON THE KALPA DURING WHICH THERE IS "VOID."

6. This Kalpa relates to that period after the general destruction of the world, when there is no definite form in existence, but all is shapeless and void. And so it lasts for twenty small Kalpas, after which the Kalpa of renovation again begins, and the universe is established as before.

GENERAL SUMMARY.[1]

7. Every great Kalpa (Mahâkalpa) consists of four distinct periods. A period of renovation, of perfection, of destruction, and of void. The period of perfection is divided into two æras, viz., the æra of increase, and the æra of decrease. Each of these æras consists of twenty small Kalpas. During the first, the years of man's life increase from ten years to 80,000 years; during the latter his years again diminish to ten. Similarly, his stature increases and decreases. Again, during the twenty small Kalpas of increase, the four kinds of chakravartins are born, viz., 1. An iron wheel king, who rules over one continent; 2. A copper wheel king, who rules over two continents; 3. A silver wheel king, who rules over three continents; 4. A golden wheel king, who rules over the entire world. The golden wheel king possesses seven inestimable treasures, 1. The golden discus, of purest metal, and with a thousand radii. On the day when the king is anointed (lit. water poured on his head) this golden discus flies through space, and by its power the king and his four generals are able also to pass through the air, and visit the four continents. The second treasure is the elephant, white as the chaddanta elephant of the snowy mountains. The third is the horse treasure of the dragon species, able to carry the king in one day round the four empires. The fourth is the gem-like woman, born of the Lotus, perfect in all particulars. The fifth is the lordly warlike minister, of singular courage,

[1] This summary has been made to compress the subject within reasonable limits.

and unbounded wisdom. The sixth is the steward of the treasury, who knows well how to secure jewels innumerable. The seventh is the magic gem, whose rays extend a yojana in distance, able to light up the darkness, and make night as bright as day. Whatever the king wants, this gem causes to appear; so that every treasure, and every ornament that heart can desire, pours down in abundance. The years of the king are 84,000, his son, the heir apparent, acts with him in his empire, the seven precious substances are abundant in the earth, the soil overflows with increase, men practise virtue, and the highest prosperity and happiness prevail.[1] During the æra of decrease, three calamities occur, viz., pestilence, the sword, and famine. The horrors resulting from these calamities reduce the world to the greatest misery. Then comes the end, when all is destroyed, either by fire, or water, or wind.

There are three great Kalpas (Mahâ Kalpas), 1. One already past, viz., the Choang-yen Kalpa; consisting of four periods. During this Kalpa there were 1,000 Buddhas born; 2. The present Kalpa, called Bhadra Kalpa, consisting, as before, of four periods. We are now living in the second period, viz., that of perfection and rest. This period consists of twenty small Kalpas of increase. The present is the ninth small Kalpa. During the previous eight, no Buddha has appeared, but during the first, four Chakravartins were born. In this ninth Kalpa five Buddhas are to be born; four have already come; the fifth, Maitreya Buddha, is yet to come. The four who have appeared are, 1. Krakusanda; 2. Konagamana; 3. Kâsyapa; 4. Sakya. In the fifteenth small Kalpa nine hundred and ninety-four Buddhas will appear together. Finally, in the twentieth small Kalpa, every thing having arrived at the highest perfection, and the period of establishment being fulfilled, Buddha will emerge from Nirvâna, and the universe be

[1] This description, which evidently points to the "golden age," is stated in the tika to be in agreement with the Sûtras and Shasters of all the schools.

destroyed. The third Mahâkalpa is "yet to come," and called "sing-suh" (star-constellation), in which one thousand Buddhas will again appear.[1]

[From the whole subject, we gather that a small Kalpa, called also a Kalpa of separation, or a Luh-lo (windlass) Kalpa, consists of 1,680 myriads of years; a medium Kalpa, that is the Kalpas of renovation, perfection, decadence, and void, consist each of twenty small Kalpas, and therefore of 33,600 myriads of years; and a great Kalpa (Mahâ Kalpa) consisting of four medium Kalpas, corresponds to 134,400 myriads of years.]

THE VARIOUS BUDDHA-KCHÊTRAS.[2]

1. The great Chiliocosm (already described) is spoken of as the domain or kchêtra of one Buddha, and is otherwise called the Sahalôkadhatu. But beyond this, in the immensity of space, there are Chiliocosms in each of the ten regions;[3] these are the kchêtras or domains of all the Buddhas. What do we know of these? According to the Avatamsaka Sûtra, "to the east of this Sahalôkadhatu is a world called 'Mih-shun' (secret-agreeable). To the south is a world called 'Fung-yeh' (abundant overflowing). To the west is a world called Li-kau (removal-im-

[1] These particulars, digested from the tedious chapters of Jin-ch'au, will serve to show the character of later Buddhist speculation. The authorities quoted in the original, are principally, the Yoga Shaster, the Abidharma, and the Damamoûrka Sutra. Jin Ch'au makes a statement in the text, which fixes the date of his work with precision, he says: "From the Nirvâna of our Buddha till the present year, being the first year of the reign of Kaou Tsung of the Sung dynasty (A.D. 1127) is a period of 2,100 years; this would make the Nirvâna to have occurred 973 B.C., which is a date very generally accepted in China."

[2] For an account of these kchêtras, vide *Lotus*, p. 363, f. 38 b. Compare also the expression, in the note which follows the above, "enceintes tracées en forme de damiers" with the Buddhist railing at Amravati. *Tree and Serp. Worship*, Pl. lxxxviii, fig. 1.

[3] The ten Regions are the four cardinal points and half-points, with the Zenith and Nadir. Compare Plate 1, fig. 2. *Tree and Serp. Worship.*

purity). To the north is a world called 'Fung-loh' (abundance-joy). Again, to the north-east is a world called Sheh-tsu (collect-take). To the south-east is a world called 'Iu-yih' (increase-addition). To the south-west is a world called 'Sien-shiu' (seldom-few). Again, to the north-west is a world called 'Fun-hi' (joyful, glad). In the Nadir is a world called 'Kwan-yo' (hindrance-bolt). In the zenith a world called 'Chin-yin' (excite sound). All these worlds have Tathâgatas, who instruct and protect their inhabitants."

THE PURE LANDS OF THE EASTERN REGION.

2. A certain Sûtra says: "In the eastern region, beyond this, after passing as many lands of Buddha as there are sands in four rivers like the Ganges, there is a world called 'Wou-shing' (no superior). The Buddha who rules there is called Sri-Râjah Tathâgata." [And so after passing as many worlds equal in number to the sands of five, six, up to ten rivers like the Ganges, there are successively other worlds in the eastern region, ruled over by different Buddhas. The names of these I omit, as being pure fictions.]

THE PURE LAND OF THE WESTERN REGIONS.

3. What is the meaning of this expression, "Pure land or earth?" Every world which is "white and spotless," is characterized as "Pure," and every such land in which there are inhabitants is called "an earth." The Che-lun[1] says: "They who inhabit the pure lands are without any of the five impurities, like crystal, the earth is therefore called perfectly pure." The Abhidharma Shaster says: "No sorrow or pain for those born there, this is the Pure-land—all the regions of space indeed possess such lands, but the paradise of the western region, this is of all the most joyous, and therefore by far the most excellent."

The Amitâbha Sutra says: "In the western region, passing over ten myriads of lakshas of worlds of Buddha

[1] Saddharma samparigraha Shaster (Jul).

(Buddhakchêtras), there is a world called "the infinitely happy" (Sukhavatî), and why is this world so named? Because its inhabitants have no sorrows, but enjoy an infinity of bliss, therefore it is so called." Again, this same authority states "that in the land (Kchêtra) of Amitâbha, the seven precious substances are produced of themselves, yellow gold, white silver, crystal, lapis lazuli, cornelian, coral, ruby. All these combined form the substance of the earth, which is therefore glorious in appearance, and excellent beyond description for purity. There are no mountains, or circular ranges of rocks, no sea, and no hollows, but all is one vast plain. There are no places of punishment, neither evil spirits, brute beasts, or Asuras. There are fountains which bubble up of their own accord, but there is no heat of summer, or cold of winter." [The section then proceeds to describe the glorious buildings (Temples), the Lotus-covered tanks, the pleasant-sounding avenues of trees, the beautiful net-work curtains, which adorn the land. It speaks of the golden colour of those born in this land, who are all produced by transformation, seated on a precious lotus, it describes the glory which proceeds from the top of the head (ting), and which in the case of Buddha extends to the distance of a thousand myriad worlds, in the case of a Bôdhisatwa to a hundred million myriad lis, and in the case of the Srâvakas to seven chang (eighty feet). It speaks also of the beautiful birds, whose songs delight the ears, as they chant the praises of Buddha, but which are only miraculous creations, for no such real birth can exist in this Paradise; and also of the immeasureable duration of life, countless asankhêyas of years, which belong to the happy persons born there, and which give the name of Amita (boundless) to the Buddha who rules in it. Finally, it quotes a passage from the Avatamsaka Sutra: "One Kalpa of the Saha universe is equal to a day and night of the Sukhavatî world]."

ON THE TRUE CAUSE OF BIRTH IN THAT LAND.

4. There are three classes of persons whose firm purpose it is to be born in the Paradise (of Amitâbha). 1. The superior class, consisting of those who having left their homes and the desires of the flesh,[1] have become disciples (Shamans). The heart without any remnant of covetousness, carefully attending to the rules of conduct contained in the scriptures, practising the six Pâramitâs[2] towards the attainment of the condition (Karma) of a Bôdhisatwa; ever invoking the name of that Buddha, and devoting the life to every species of religious merit; such persons as these in their sleep beholding the form of Buddha and the Bôdhisatwas, at the end of life, escorted by Buddha and the Holy Assembly, shall instantly be born as a Bôdhisatwa, seated on a Lotus, in the midst of a precious lake in that Paradise. 2. The middle class, consisting of persons who being unable to become disciples (Shamans), yet have thoroughly devoted themselves to the attainment of religious merit; ever accepting and obeying the words of Buddha;[3] deeply exciting the heart of the insurpassable wisdom; ever reciting the name of that Buddha, practising virtue with determination; reverently complying with the rules of the church (fasting, &c.); contributing to the erection of temples (pagodas) and sacred images; giving food and drink to the Shamans; suspending religious banners, and providing lamps for worship; offering flowers, and burning incense; in this condition[4] of mind, earnestly longing to be born in that land, then at the end of life, drawn by the

[1] The five desires of beauty, sound, odours, taste, and touch.

[2] For an account of the Pâramitas, vid. Lotus, p. 544.

[3] Anuttara Bôdhi. The whole phrase, which is eminently Buddhistic, is equivalent to what we should express by "earnestly striving after spiritual perfection."

[4] In this "converted condition." The phrase "hwui hiang," is of frequent occurrence in Buddhist books of worship, e. gr., the confessional of Kwan-yin.

power of Buddha, they shall be born in that place, in a degree of excellence coming after the former. 3. The inferior class, consisting of persons unable to prepare every kind of religious merit who on some former occasion have earnestly practised the rules of piety, and on the conclusion of each day recite the name of Buddha; these also towards the end of life, beholding the appearance of Buddha in their sleep, shall also be born in that land, only in an inferior degree of excellence to the former class.

Again, there are three other classifications, 1. Those who observe the rules of religious fasting, and with one heart (the whole heart) invoke Buddha, for ten successive mornings and evenings. These, when they die, shall be born in that land; 2. Those unable to complete the ten days and nights, but yet retain an undisturbed state of mind, and avoid all sexual intercourse, with body and mind pure, observing the rules of fasting, invoking the name of Buddha, doing all this for one day and night, these shall also be born there; 3. Those men or women who excite in themselves a religious disposition, and who observe all the rules about preserving life, and doing good to all creatures, invoking the name of that Buddha, and also of others, throughout the various regions of space, at the end of life Buddha shall come to them, and they also shall be born in a pure land.

If, however, a man prepares himself to acquire merit, and prays for birth in that land, and yet afterwards goes back and loses his faith, he shall be born, if he again turns to the true belief, in a "territory of doubt," where he shall for five hundred years neither see Buddha nor hear the Law or the Bôdhisatwas.

A GENERAL SUMMARY OF THE SUBJECT.

5. The work known as the Po-kien (precious record or mirror) of the Lotus school, says: "By cultivating innocence (a good Karma) we inherit a reward in one of the pure lands. Buddha, assuming an apparitional appearance,

draws up his followers to the golden eminence, where in the company of sages and saints, they return as to a place of joy—overleaping the three worlds coming out of the four streams of life, an end of Karma, and of intermixture in earthly scenes, forgetting life and dismissing anxiety, held safely within the folds of the Lotus, the spirit traversing here and there in the midst of the precious limits, reverently beholding face to face the great teacher Amitâbha, and gazing on Kwan-Yin, a covenant saviour (a sworn friend), thus occupying the precious lakes, and the perfectly pure oceans, they are born, &c. [and much more to the same effect].

And now with regard to the situation of this Paradise and Sukhavatî, compared with the Sahalôkadhatu, it is due west more than ten myriads of lakhs of systems (kchêtras) of Buddha. And if we regard the position of this Paradise in reference to the superimposed systems of worlds, it is in the thirteenth tier, regarding the Sahalôkadhatu as in the middle of this tier, then going to the west an infinite distance (a distance corresponding to worlds as numerous as the grains of dust in an entire system), we come to this border land of the thirteenth tier, called Sukhavatî, where those are born who invoke the name of Buddha (Amitâbha) —a land perfectly pure, and richly adorned, &c."

ON THE VARIOUS TIERS OF WORLDS (KCHÊTRAS).

6. The Avataṁsaka says: "In the midst of an illimitable ocean, known as the 'Hwa-tsong-choang-yen-shi-kiai,' are the innumerable oceans of worlds scattered through space. In the very middle of it there is a Fragrant Ocean, called 'Wou-pien-mian-hwa-kwong,' from which is produced a Lotus called 'Yih-tsai-hiang-mo-ni-wang-choang-yen,' above which is fixed a tier of worlds called 'p'o-chiu-shih-fang-chi-yen-pao-kwong-ming;' the worlds themselves are innumerable. The lowest tier consists of a system of worlds, called 'tsui-shing-kwong-pien-chiu,' the name of the Buddha who

presides over this tier, is 'tsing-ngan-li-kau-tang;' the number of worlds which lie scattered throughout the tier is beyond the power of words to express. Above this tier, after passing an innumerable number of systems of worlds, is a second tier (and so on for twenty tiers). The thirteenth tier is called So-po (Saha lôka dhatu), and is ruled by a Buddha called Vairojana, in the very midst of which is the system we inhabit, and to the extreme west of which, after passing systems of worlds, incalculable for number, is the Paradise of Sukhavatî. [And so towards each of the Ten Regions there are similar tiers of systems of worlds; these again are surrounded by others, incalculable for number, all being contained within the illimitable ocean above named.]"[1]

ON THE NAMES OF THE GREAT NUMBERS USED IN BUDDHIST BOOKS.

7. The number spoken of as "unutterable" (asankhêya), can only be thoroughly known by Buddha. Hence when the Bôdhisatwa called Sin-wang, asked Buddha the system according to which these vast numbers are classified, the world honoured one explained the orders of Asañkhêyas, exhibiting the excellences that belong to the Buddhas, in a way which no human method can reach. In the commentary on the Avatamsaka by Yuen-fah-sse, we find the following: "According to the system of Hwang ti, the numeration of our country is from unity up to an incalculably high number called "tsai." Now from a myriad upwards there are three methods of increase, either by a decimal scale, or a centenary scale, or by squaring. In the Asañkhêya system of Buddha, the two latter methods alone are used, in this way, a hundred lakshas are called a kôti, a kôti of kotis is

[1] And in the same manner similar oceans stretch towards each of the ten points of space. The effort in all this is to exhibit the infinite extent of phenomenal existence, all developed from the Infinite Mind. Compare with this account Plate xci, fig. 2, *Tree and Serp. Worship*, where each chattah or Lotus is doubtless designed to represent a kchêtra of Buddha.

called an ayuta, the square of this is a niyuta, the square of this is a vivara, the square of this is a kaṁkara, the square of this an akara, the square of this an akshôbya (tsui shing), the square of this a mavara, the square of this an avara, the square of this a tavara, the square of this a world-division, the square of this a p'o-ma (paduma?), and so on, squaring till we come to 120 figures (fan?), which is a number called unutterable[1] (asankhêya)."

But now, as to the expression, "a number equal to the fine dust of a Buddhakchêtra," what is this? A great Chiliocosm is termed a kchêtra, or land of one Buddha; now taking all the thousand million Mount Sumerus, and all the "four continents," the encircling mountains, and great earths composing this vast system, and reducing them to fine dust, this is called "the fine dust of one Buddhakchêtra," and now taking as many worlds as are represented by these grains of dust, and this is what is called in the scriptures "worlds equal in number to the fine dust of a Buddhakchêtra." Hence, because no human number can reach to this; when in the Sûtras it is necessary to speak of such amounts, the expression is used, "a number equal to the dust of one, two, three, up to an innumerable amount of worlds, of Buddha," and so on, of tiers of worlds, and oceans of tiers of worlds, &c.

[The work of Jin Chǎu now developes into a fanciful enumeration of names, given to the various oceans and Lotus-systems, occupying infinite space; these names, being pure fiction, are omitted.]

CONCERNING THE INFINITE EXPANSE OF THE UNIVERSE.

8. As there is no limit to the immensity of reason, and no measurement to the universe, as there is no possibility of numbering the forms of life, or estimating the countless modes of the operation of Karma, so all the Buddhas are

[1] The account here given differs from that found in the "Lotus," p. 857.

possessed of infinite wisdom, and infinite mercy. There is no place throughout the universe where the essential body of Vairojana is not present. Far and wide through the fields of space, he is present, and perpetually manifested.

But with respect to the modes of manifestation of this universal essence, we may say briefly that there are three forms or bodies (persons) which it assumes. 1. Dharmakaya Tathâgata, called Vairojana (*i.e.*, the Omnipresent); 2. Sambogakaya Tathâgata, called Rojana[1] (*i.e.*, the infinitely pure, or glorious); 3. Nirmanakaya Tathâgata, called Sakya Muni.[2] Now these three Tathâgatas are all included in one substantial essence. The three are the same as one. Not one, and yet not different. Without parts or composition (web or woof). When regarded as one, the three persons are spoken of as Tathâgata. But it may be asked, if the three persons are one substance, how is it that this one substance is differently manifested? In reply, we say there is no real difference, these manifestations are only different views of the same unchanging substance.[3]

But now it may be asked "From what cause then did these worlds innumerable spring?" We reply, "They come from the heart (âtman) alone; they are made by that alone."

[1] It is singular that these Buddhist speculations should bear so close a resemblance to the later Greek theories on the same subject; especially in the plain resemblance of the σῶμα αὐγοειδὲς, or luciform body. to the Rôjana, or "glorious body" of the Buddhists. vid. the whole subject of these "bodies," treated by Cudworth. Intellec. System ii. 788. ss.

The use of the word "yâna," or "vehicle," in Buddhist works is also parallel to the Platonic ὄχμηα, vid. as above.

[2] Respecting these three bodies, consult Wassilief (*Bouddisme*, p. 127).

[3] The whole of this section is expressed in technical language. which it is difficult to put in an English form. The Supreme Self (âtman) or Heart, is supposed not only to manifest itself under three forms or persons, but to occupy four "lands," or discharge four supreme functions. 1. In its supreme condition, perfectly at rest, and yet ever glorious; 2. As manifested in the character of all the Bôdhisatwas; 3. As manifested in the character of the Rahats and Pratyêka Buddhas; 4. As manifested in the condition of Holy men (Buddhists) and worldly philosophers (heretics).

But because from the very first, all sentient creatures have confused the truth, and embraced the false; therefore has there come into being a hidden knowledge called, "Alaya vijnyâna," and because of this, all the various transformations in the world without and the senses within, have been produced. Hence the Scriptures say, "Because of the primeval fallacy (fallacious cause), the whole phænomenal world has been originated, and from this cause too has sprung not only the various modes of birth, but the idea of Nirvâna itself."

Again, it is said, "The three worlds are one and the same, originated alike by the 'one self,' all causes and effects and the infinite varieties of mundane existence, on this alone depend for their substantial being."

Again, the Avatamsaka Sutra says: "The heart (the universal self) as a skilful workman makes all the different conditions of existence (skandhas) throughout the ten regions of space, everything in the universe results from the operation of this universal essence." [And the conclusion of the whole treatise is this—that the one true essence is like a bright mirror, which is the basis of all phænomena, the basis itself is permanent and true, the phænomena are evanescent and unreal; as the mirror however is capable of reflecting all images, so the true essence embraces all phænomena, and all things exist in it and by it.]

Chapter II.—LEGENDS AND MYTHS.

SAKYA BUDDHA.[1]

We possess notices respecting the early life of Sakya, translated from various original and relatively independent sources. The story, or legend of his birth and conversion, is already so well known that little can be added to give fresh interest to the subject. The singular agreement, however, of the various records, as far as we know them, tends to the conclusion that they were originally founded on fact. And by removing the evident inventions of subsequent years, we may arrive at an approximate estimate of what those original facts were. Buddha, then, it would appear, belonged to a family unknown in the native records of India, named the "Sakyas." That this family consisted of refugees from an original Royal stock located elsewhere, seems evident from the agreement of all the records. But that the family had descended in direct line from Maha Sammata, of the race of the Sun, and reigned at Potala, on the Indus, must be regarded as fabulous. The story goes, that one of the descendants of this supreme monarch, spoken of as Ikshwaku Virudhaka, having four sons by his first wife, on his re-marriage, was induced to banish them from his kingdom. Being followed by their five sisters, they at length settled on a spot where dwelt an ascetic called Kapila, who was in fact Sakya himself in a previous birth. Here they built a city, and by intermarriage became a powerful and distinct people. In process of time, after 706,787 generations of princes from Sammata, a prince Sudhôdama was born, who became

[1] It must be borne in mind that the title of "Buddha" is applied to Sakya only after his enlightenment, or complete inspiration. It corresponds with the Greek ὁ πεφωτισμενος. Compare the "Life of Joasaph," in the *Paradise* of Metaphrastes, where Joasaph, the counterpart of Sakya, is repeatedly called by this title.

the father of "Sakya Buddha." When stripped of its legendary character, this story seems to imply that a refugee family of Sakyas settled at a place called Kapila,[1] or according to Singhalese version, Kimbul (vat), in the neighbourhood of the present Gorackpur, and maintained themselves there as a separate people. But who were these Sakyas? Several indirect considerations would lead to the supposition that they were a branch of the great Scythian race (Sakas), who about the time of Buddha's birth were pushing themselves into the southern portions of Asia and Europe. The Scythian invasion of Western Asia was about 625 B.C., and Sakya's birth, according to the generally received date, was 623 B.C. The Scythians, on this occasion, over-ran Assyria, and reached as far at Ascalon,[2] and for eighteen years they seem to have been supreme throughout this territory. It is possible, therefore, that one branch of these invaders may have penetrated at a somewhat earlier date across the mountains into North India, and there settled. And if so they might have called their district "the Royal city" (Kambul, or Kambalik, the city of the Khan), which in time became turned into Kapila, or the Singhalese Kimbul. That these Sakyas were famous archers[3] will be evident from the legendary account of Sakya Sinha, hereafter given. We are told, moreover, by Herodotus, that one of their chief peculiarities was their regard for the tombs of their deceased kings. "We Scythians have neither towns nor cultivated lands," said their king to Darius, "if, however, you must come to blows with us, speedily look you now, there are our fathers' tombs, seek them out and attempt to meddle with them, then ye shall see whether or no we will fight with you."[4] Compare

[1] Although Kapîla is generally explained as equivalent to the "yellow soil," the Chinese Tika interprets it as "the city of excellent merit or virtue."

[2] Herod. i, 103, 106.

[3] The Scythians were so called according to Lenormant (vol. ii. p. 127), from the Gothic word "skiatha," an archer.

[4] Herod. iv, 127. A manual of Ancient Hist. of the East, ii, 138.

with this the particular directions left by Sakya as to his funeral obsequies, and the subsequent erection of mounds and topes over his relics. He was to be buried "according to the old system of the wheel Kings." Now if we compare the actual records of his cremation and subsequent burial, with what we read respecting the burial of the Scythian kings in Herodotus (iv. 71, 72), there will be found a considerable resemblance in the broad outline. Burnouf has already shown[1] that no such system of burial is recognised in the Brahman ritual, or is indigenous in India. From this he argues that it was an improbable request for Buddha to make. But if, as we suppose, this custom of burial was derived from foreign sources, and the request was merely the expression of a wish well understood by those familiar with the old custom of the Sakas, the probability of the truth of the narrative is much greater. But it may be asked, who were the Wheel Kings, or Chakravarttins, to whom Sakha alluded in his dying command? The ideal meaning of the word is, "a monarch who rules all within the chakra of rocks supposed to surround the world," or in other words, "a Universal Monarch." This idea of universal power corresponds to the proud Title so frequently met with in connection with the later Scythian kings who invaded and conquered Bactria and the neighbouring provinces; for example, the coins of the second Kadphises, on which we find this Arian legend, "Coin of the great King, King of Kings, Ruler of the whole world, the mighty Lord Kapisa."[2] They pretended to have no rivals in the world, and claimed the title, Universal Rulers. Hence, as the symbol of this authority, the tombs of these kings, after their cremation and certain recognised ceremonies, were surrounded by a circular range of rocks or stones, to signify as much, that they were Kings of the Earth. If this be admitted, we shall at once see the force of Sakya's request that he should be buried according to the rules of the Chakravarttins, that is,

[1] Introduct. to Indian Bud. pp. 352, ss.

[2] Journal of the R.A.S., vol. xx, part 2. p. 239.

that his remains after undergoing certain prescribed ceremonies, should be burned, and his tomb erected in the method known among the Sakas, or Sakyas, viz., by raising over his ashes a vast mound of earth, and surrounding it by the usual emblem of authority, the circle of stones. How fully this rule was attended to in the erection of topes or stûpas, is too well known to need illustration. These topes, were at first only mounds of earth, included within a circular wooden rail, or a ring of steles, as we find in Ceylon. But when the munificence of Asoka was brought to bear on the subject, these old and barbarous mounds were destroyed, and Topes faced with stone, in many cases magnificently wrought and ornamented, came into date. But in these the original idea was never lost sight of—they are all designed to indicate the authority of a universal monarch; not a monarch only of the world, but according to the expanded creed of Buddhism at the time of Asoka, lord of "the Three Worlds" also, the World of Men, signified by the square plinth on which the stûpa or dagoba rests, surrounded by the circular rail; the World of Dêvas, signified by the dome, or vault of heaven; and the World of Space, signified by the kchêtra above kchêtra, that rises from the Tee, ending in the symbol of the boundless empyræan, the three-forked flame, or trisul. This was the expanded form of the Scythic tomb, but the idea is the same, the idea of universal power; in the case of the barbarian kings, power over the nations of the earth, in the case of Buddha, power over the minds and destinies of creatures throughout the boundless field of creation.

It is not improbable, therefore, that the Sakya race[1] in India was one foreign to the soil, and that the extraordinary person who founded the religion that has exercised such a marked influence in the religious history of the world, be-

[1] It is curious that the origin of the Manichæan Doctrine should be traced back to one "Scythianus" (Saka), whose disciple, Terebinthus, took the name of Buddha. I believe the legend of Sakya was perverted into this history of Scythianus.

longed to the same race as the conquerors of Assyria and Darius, and subsequently of the whole Eastern World, under Timur and Ghengiz Khan.

The principal incidents of Sakya's life are found embodied in the following work of Wong Puh. It is probably a copy of the first records[1] brought from India, respecting the founder of this religion. It claims a semi-canonical authority as belonging to the traditional or smriti class of works. It is composed in the usual style of the earlier schools, viz., by way of brief aphorisms, containing the germ of some important truth or incident, illustrated by copious notes of a much later date. [Wong Puh himself lived under the third emperor of the Tang dynasty, 640-684 A.D., his commentators evidently belonged to a much later date, probably the fifteenth century.]

THE LEGEND OF SAKYA FROM THE CHINESE.

I am about to declare the traditional records[2] of Sakya Tathâgata. With respect to the essentially[3] pure and universally diffused body, *that* is incapable either of beginning or end. But by the constraining power of his great love, he was led to assume a human form, and to be born in the world. For a time he had rested in the Tusita Heaven, and was known there as Prabhâpâla Bôdhisatwa. Thence he

[1] From which the other expanded works (vaipulya) were made, as, e.g. the Lalita Vistara.

[2] The commentator explains this as equivalent to the Sanscrit "Smriti."

[3] His body of the law—dharmakaya—where Dharma may be compared to the Platonic "idea" (compare the assertion of Professor Butler of Dublin, who explains "ideas" as the Laws according to which God regulates the Universe." Professor Ferrier's Remains, i, 325). But probably Dharma in this connection is the "prakriti," or the φύσις of Strabo, which he says was considered as a fifth element by the Brahmans (Banerjea's Hindoo Philosophy, p. 241). Now it is well known that in the Buddhist scholastic treatises, "fah" or "dharma" is spoken of as the element or object apprehended by "mind," where "mind" is regarded as a fifth sense. "Dharmakaya" in this sense would therefore correspond to "σῶμα φυσικὸν."

descended to the country of Kapila, and assumed the title of Sarvârthasiddha. His family had been selected by the assembled Dêvas (golden mass) of the heaven in which he resided; Suddhôdana was selected as his father. His incarnation was on this wise: like a shining gemmous elephant he descended[1] into the womb of Mâyâ, the wife of the king, and there took up his abode. Predicted a Universal Monarch, he was born beneath the Sâla trees,[2] in the garden of Lumbini. His body adorned with every excellency, lovely as the Lotus; marked with the thirty-two superior signs; bright as the shining moon! At his birth he faced the four quarters, and took seven steps each way, whilst his body was bathed by the streams of water which the nine dragons caused to flow over it. At this time the Udambara[3] flower appeared, as he uttered with his lion voice, "My births are now at an end, I await the unchangeable body, I have come and gone for the salvation of all men, but now there is an end; henceforth, there shall be no more birth." Thus, wrapped in swaddling clothes, he was manifested as a little child.

And now came the taking his horoscope! See how the Rishi Asita is grieved![4] And now behold him carried to the ancestral temple![5] With what reverence did the God salute him! Growing up as a child he learned all the wisdom of the age,[6] and increased in all martial skill, as the

[1] Vide this scene depicted, Pl. xxxiii, *Tree and Serpent Worship.* From the fact that the sculptures at Sanchi are taken principally from the early life of Buddha, and from the Jâtakas, it is plain that these incidents must date from B.C., if the temple of Sanchi is of the date assigned to it.

[2] Vide Plate lxv, fig. 3, *Tree and Serpent Worship.*

[3] Ficus glomerata, fabled to appear whenever a universal monarch is born.

[4] He wept because, being old, he himself would not benefit by the "preaching of the law."

[5] He was taken by his father to the temple of Mahêshwara, then all the figures of the Gods rose up, and did him obeisance.—Ch. Ed.

[6] The Sabdavidyâ, the treatise on sound, which includes all the wisdom of the other treatises (i.e., the five vidyâs).—Ch. Ed.

Pagoda of the arrow,[1] and the flowing well may certify; and as to his personal prowess let the elephant ditch bear testimony! Then for ten entire years he indulged himself in every sensual delight, until after taking a tour of observation from the "four gates," he beheld the various sights which affected his mind so deeply, viz., the sight of the old worn out man, the leper, the corpse, and the Shaman with a joyful countenance;[2] then returning to his palace, the watchful Dêva, in order to excite his heart to wisdom, caused the women to assume every unbecoming attitude in their sleep, by which he was so resolved, that even now the prancing of his steed[3] Kanika could hardly be restrained as he left the city on the eighth day of the second month. Then he sojourned for six years in the neighbourhood of the snowy mountains, having dismissed his charioteer and the steed so fondly attached to his person, that it shed tears on the eve of its separation from him! Forthwith, he cut his flowing locks from his head, with the sword, and these conveyed by Sakra to the heavenly mansions were enshrined in a sacred edifice. And then discarding his royal garments, he exchanged them for the leather hose and doublet of the hunter in the mountains. No mere system of human invention would satisfy his mind,[4] he reduced himself by the exercise of rigid discipline, to the grain of millet and hemp

[1] Referring to the well-known fables found in the Lalita Vistara, and in the note of the present work (which see). Mr. Fergusson identifies the scene, Pl. xxxvi, fig. 2, *Tree and Serp. Worship*, with this incident.

[2] This is the well known fable of Buddha's conversion, which was appropriated by John of Damascus, in favour of a fictitious Christian saint called Josaphat, or Joasaph. Vide Max Müller's lecture on the "Migration of Fables." This scene is depicted, Pl. xxxiii, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, where I believe the placid figure in front of the chariot is intended to represent the "Shaman with a pleasant countenance."

[3] This scene is depicted, Pl. lix, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, where we observe the four Yakshas, spoken of in the note of the Chinese Editor, supporting the feet of the horse. "Four Yakshas support the feet of the horse, whilst Dêvas offer precious gifts."—Ch. Ed.

[4] "He rejected the system of the Mountain Rishis," i.e., Alâra and Udâka.—M. B. 164,

seed, until his body was worn and haggard with self-mortification. Then he realised the truth of the medium course, that like the man, who would discourse sweet music, must tune the strings of his instrument to the medium point of tension, so he who would arrive at the condition of Buddha, must exercise himself in a medium course of discipline. From this moment he directed his steps to the place beyond the Dragon cave,[1] when bathing his body in the Nairanjana river, he received the rice and milk of Nanda, and the grass mat of Santi. Then tending onwards to the Bôdhi-mandala,[2] the site on which he was destined to arrive at complete deliverance, he ascended the diamond throne, and there exhibited his superior qualifications, which were proofs of his coming emancipation. Then the army of Mâra[3] (death) advanced to assail him, but they were all put to confusion by the exercise of his love, and took to flight. In vain the ogling women[4] attacked him with their lascivious devices; they were abashed at his presence, and by his power changed into hideous hags. Then the "Earth-God"[5] leaping forth, testified to his merit, whilst the Dêvas residing in space, spread the news of his spiritual victory far and wide! Then pure as a Lotus he came from the contest; like the shining moon issuing from the clouds he scattered the rays of his beauty far and wide. After seven days he received the wheat and honey of the two merchants Trapusha and Bhallika,[6] who had been excited to make the offering by the direction of the Tree Dêva, whilst he ex-

[1] That is the cave of the Dragon Kalika.—Burnouf, Introd., p. 386.

[2] The Bôdhi-mandala, *i. e.*, the sacred precinct under the Bo Tree, where all Buddhas are supposed to arrive at complete inspiration.

[3] Mâra, or death, or, as we say, the Devil. This temptation scene is figured on the middle beam of the northern gateway at Sanchi. Vid. Frontispiece, *Tree and Serp. Worship.*

[4] The four daughters of Mâra.

[5] Stâvara. Vid. *Lal. Vist.*, p. 305, also *Jul.* iii, 468.

[6] I believe this scene to be intended in Plate lvii, fig. 1, *Tree and Serp. Worship*, as the scene fig. 2, same Plate, represents the offering of Nanda.

plained to Trapusha the refuge to be found in the observance of the five precepts.

At length, completely inspired, he considered who would be the first to arrive at salvation. Alas! the two Rishis[1] whose instruction he had first listened to, were no more, but he was rejoiced to see that the five men[2] who had left him at Uravilva would be able to receive the transforming influences of his doctrine. Such is the feebleness and confusion attending all human methods of deliverance, and such the wisdom of the sage, deep and vast beyond description! The one excludes the other, as light excludes the darkness! "The power of evil doubtless will prevent many from embracing the truth of my doctrine, yet if there should be no profit at all to mankind by the declaration of the truth, I would return forthwith to the condition of non-being (Nirvâna)."

As he thought thus, Sakra, monarch of the Trayastriñshas heaven, cloud-compelled; and the great ruler of the universe,[3] Brahma, approaching Buddha, with reverence, adored him, and besought him to promulgate his doctrine and declare the law according to its true principles, adopted by the ancient sages, and adapted to the condition of men in their actual state of life. At the same time the Buddhas of the different quarters of the universe, revealing themselves, uttered in his hearing words of commendation and comfort, to this effect, "that all the different systems of the one Law were designed to one end, and that to overthrow the strongholds of sin!"

From this moment leaving the Bôdhi tree he directed his steps to the Deer-park[4] at Sarnath, where after three months

[1] That is Alâra and Udâka.

[2] The five men were the five ascetics who had lived with him at Uravilva, until he began to alter his severe manner of life, when they left him.

[3] Vide Pl. xxvi., fig. 1, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, and compare Fah-Hian, p. 125.

[4] Vide Pl. xxix, fig. 2, *Tree and Serpent Worship*.

kindly instruction, he succeeded in converting the five men, his former companions; Adjnata Kaundinya being the first to embrace his doctrine, and therefore he was called Adjnata, or the converted.

After this, Sariputra accidentally meeting Asvajit, declared to him the bare outline of Buddha's doctrine,[1] by which he also was converted. After this, Moudgalaputra also following in the same steps, and adhering to the same doctrine, found deliverance. Moreover, the whole of the fire-worshippers[2] returned to right reason through the conversion of Kasyapa. All these were but instances of the virtue of the overflowing streams of the heavenly dew (Divine grace) and the enlightening power of the Mani gem (Divine wisdom).

Nor was the virtue of his teaching confined to the world of men, it extended also to the world of Dêvas.[3] He taught in the Parrot forest, between Sravasti and Magadha, and also in the grove on the bank of the Ganges, called Chi-Sheou, also at the Heron Lake, and the Vulture Peak, also in the Dragon Palace, and the Mango-grove, and at the Monkey Stream, and at the cave of Gopala; he dwelt at Benares, and in Magadha, and in the Sala Grove, and at Vaisali, at Lankagiri and Potalaka, and in the Bamboo Garden, also in the Jetavana at Sravasti. He exhibited himself in various ways; unsupported in the air, at the request of Prasenadjit; passing from the mountain tops through the various heavenly mansions; exemplifying his law by the custom of bowing to the six divisions of space; transforming his body into one only three feet in height; placing his hand on Ananda's head; pointing to the earth; dispersing the rays of his glory through the boundless

[1] He declared to him the "four-truths" (arya satyâni), which lie at the foundation of primitive Buddhism, vid. M.B., 196.

[2] This scene is depicted, Pl. xxiv, fig. 1, *Tree and Serpent Worship.*

[3] Viz., when he ascended into the Trayâstrinshas Heaven to declare the law for the sake of his mother. His descent from this heaven, or the ladder of Sakra, is depicted, Pl. xxvii, fig. 3, *Tree and Serpent Worship.*

regions of space, and causing the different Buddhas to appear in his presence, causing also the countless worlds of space to be revealed to the sight of Vidêha, and changing the appearance of the earth by his transforming energy.[1]

As to his method of teaching, he made the ordinary method of instruction illustrate the true method of his own, just as the echo of the hollow dell answers to the voice, or the bell responds to the stroke of the hammer. Amongst the discourses which he uttered, we find the four Âgamas, which favour the reality of sensible phænomena, and the eight Prâjna[2] which declare all to be void, the Ganda Vyuha and the Avatamsaka, the Tathâgatagarbha and the Kchiti-garbha, the questions of Tchintavardana, the conversations at Lankagiri, the Surañgama, the Samadhi, also the Maha-karuna pundarika, also the book of Dharanis, which are as the torch of the law, also the auspicious advent of Sudana (the Vêssantara Jataka), also the Itivrittakas, the Jâtakas, the Gêyas, and Gâthas. Then he illustrated his doctrine under several parables,[3] such as that of the elephant, the horse and the hare crossing the river, the three chariots leaving the house, and drawn respectively by sheep, deer, and oxen. Then he spoke of it as something which really exists, at other times as empty, at other times as preserving the medium; again, he described it (*i.e.*, his doctrine) as the centre of invariable splendor, again, as the dull and the gradual, the incomplete and the full, the unutterable and the ever-spoken, as something which cannot be heard, and yet is ever heard; moreover, he gave them an assurance[4] as a sound basis of trust, he also supplied all that was lacking, so that there should be no forgetfulness. He explained his system as neither little, and yet not great, as being without

[1] These various events are to be found in the usual accounts of Buddha's teaching, and are explained in the notes of the work we are considering.

[2] The eight chief works of the Mahayana system.

[3] These parables are to be found in the *Lotus* of the Good Land.

[4] The assurance here spoken of is that we all have the nature of Buddha, and shall eventually return to it.

bounds, and yet not central; the three vehicles of deliverance he declared were identical with the one vehicle of Buddha, and the three Natures[1] the same as the one nature of the law. Thus it was he truly described himself as the father and the mother of his helpless children, their guide and leader along the precipitous path of life: shedding the light of his truth like the sun and moon in the vault of heaven; providing a ferry-boat for passengers over this vain sea of shadows, as a propitious rain cloud, restoring all nature to life; providing salvation and refuge, by directing men into the final path that leads to the eternal city.

But, alas! the end is now at hand, his completed merit cannot dwell with us; he is now about to return to his original condition, and resume his true nature; the fuel expended, the fire dies out and perishes! Accordingly, he directs his steps to the country of the Litchhavis, and onwards to the Golden river;[2] the bright rays of glory poured forth from his face, and spread far and wide through the innumerable kchêtras of the Buddhas; the mountains shook, and the earth quaked, whilst on every side were heard cries of lamentation. Then as the end approached, the blood of the Palâsa flower[3] poured forth, and he received the last offering of Chunda, and also the protective formula of Pâpiyân; he then recited the four characteristics[4] of the condition of Nirvana, in order to illustrate the three eternal truths; pointing out to all that the countless forms of life resolve themselves into the one invariable nature. Complying with the request of Tara Kasyapa,[5] he answered the forty-two questions; and converted Subhadra, just completing his eighty-first year; finally, he overthrew the arguments of the

[1] Viz., the nature Sravaka, the Pratyêka Buddha, and the Bôdhisatwa.

[2] The Golden River is the Hiranyavati or Gandaki. The country of the Litchhavis is Vaîsali.

[3] Compare with this the story of Adonis or Thammuz.

[4] The four characteristics are permanency, joy, personal existence, purity. The three eternal truths (often signified by three dots, thus, ,',) are supreme wisdom, complete deliverance, the essential body.

[5] Tara appears to be the name of a Bôdhisatwa, reverenced by this family of Kasyapa.

ten Rishis, so that they also received the day dawn into their hearts.

How beautifully finished those four Dagobas![1] But now desiring to illustrate the perishable character of all things possessed of personal existence, he explained how the absence of conditions leads to an absence of birth, and so raising his diamond body above the ground, he remained fixed in the air. The sun and moon shall decay, what then is the sparkle of the glow-worm? Therefore he exhorted them to strive after the imperishable body; to cast away and discard the unreal. Then returning to his gemmous couch, he reposed with his head to the north, in the Stork-garden, and passed through every stage of mental absorption, about to resume the nature of the One True condition of being. He entered and passed through all the modes of Dhyâna in a direct and indirect order; fixed thus, in entire self-absorption, he plunged at once into the perfect state of eternal rest, known as Pari-Nirvâna.

Then both Dêvas and men uttered cries of lamentation! birds and beasts were filled with distress! the winds drove the clouds in confusion, the mountains quaked, and the rivers flowed back to their sources!

With respect to the manner of his burial, he directed them to follow the old rule of the wheel kings; but all the strength of the Litchhavis was unable to move the sacred coffin—then of itself it rose in the air, and passed forwards and backwards through the city of Kusinagara; and then again the torches were brought, but they were insufficient to light the funeral pyre, for the crowning act of worship at the cremation was not yet accomplished! Meantime the king Ajatasatru in Rajagriha was afflicted with distressing dreams! Then the great Kasyapa coming down from the distant Cock-foot Mountain, was privileged to behold, and rever-

[1] This clause, which seems to be parenthetical, refers to the four Dagobas erected. 1. On the place of his birth; 2. Where he arrived at supreme wisdom; 3. Where he began to preach; 4. Where he entered Nirvâna.

ently to worship, the sacred feet! After which the fire self-enkindled consumed the swathing-bands of the corpse! At length Sakra, pouring water from his golden pitcher, extinguished the flames of the royal sandal wood pyre, and the force of his vow yet remains in the preservation of the relics of his sacred body!

Then came the gorgeous retinues of the princes of the eight kingdoms, with elephants, horses, chariots, and infantry, carrying golden vessels for the relics! Each emulous to raise precious chaityas over the remains; whilst Kasyapa proceeded to the Trayastriñshas heaven, to worship at the Dagobas, there erected over the tooth and the hair! Then over the dust and ashes, Asoka raised Dagobas throughout Jambudwîpa.

The wisdom of his golden word the Law still preserves. The elephant king having departed, the elephant[1] cub soon follows—one lamp indeed extinguished, yet the light not finally put out, for the flame is imparted to another. Then the great Kasyapa assembles the thousand Rahats, and Ananda, with his thunder-voice recites the Sûtras; whilst Sanakavasa exhibited himself in a condition of Samadhi, and uttered predictions relating to the future. Upagupta, with his wooden slips fills the cave. The beginning was from the dream[2] of the broken bridge, and the end[3] the streams of the Sveti overflowing with blood.

But though the vessels are different, the water is the same, and though the flame be of various lamps, yet the

[1] These words are attributed to Gavampati, a disciple of Sariputra.

[2] The dream of the broken bridge—referring to a dream of Ajatasatru.

[3] The end was the persecution by Mahirakula, when the twenty-fourth patriarch Sitsi was murdered, and the whole region of the Cophes (Cabul), and the Sveti River overflowed with the blood of the priests and followers of Buddha. The twenty-fifth patriarch Bashiasita removed to the south of India—this was the end of Buddhism in the north. Mahirakula is placed by Cunningham 500 to 550 A.D. *Archæology*, Survey, p. 12. Fergusson, on the contrary, places him in the second century.

illumination is of one kind, so there are differences in the schools of Manjusri and Mâitreya, in the Great Vehicle, and also in the Little Vehicle, the schools of the Sthaviras, and the Mahâsañgikas.

But with respect to the various works written by the eminent sages; there was the exhibition of the ten branches,[1] and the fragrance of the 1,000 Shasters; Asvagosha and Nagarjuna were connecting links in this garland of flowers, Asanga and Vasubandhu scattered their sweetness. Arya Dêva also waxing angry at the deceit,[2] bored out the eyes of the idol; and Djina Bodhisatwa overpowered the charm of the shrieking rock. The hundred lines of Vimala-mitra silenced the heretics. The hymns of the ten masters are included in the Vidyâ mâtri siddhi. The Shasters composed by Asanga and Vasubandhu after the visit of the former to the Tusita Heaven are still preserved, as also the record of Bhâvavivêka[3] entering the cave of the Asuras, to await the advent of Maitreya. The vow to cut off the head according to agreement, and the gold carried on the elephant, with the challenge to controvert the thesis, and the appointment of the victorious teacher to rule a city, and the flags erected in honour of the victory of Asvagosha, and the discourse on the hidden sense of the Prâjna called the lamp, and finally, the Kôshakarikâ Shaster of Sangabhada. So that in the end the whole of the supporters of the theory of the Little Vehicle were converted to the true principles of the real nature explained in the Mahayana.

Thus, from the time of the Shang and Chow dynasty,

[1] The ten branches, i.e., to celebrated works written by Vasubhandu, Asanga, Maitreya, and others.

[2] Arya Dêva being in the south of India, in a temple of Mahêswara, the eyes of the idol being made to move by some machinery, he went up and destroyed the eyes, and said, "a spirit is spiritual! What then is this contemptible object? A spirit by his spiritual power should influence men to seek wisdom, &c."

[3] Bhâvavivêka, by enchanting the grain of mustard seed, and casting it against the face of the rock, caused the door of the Asura cave to open, and entered into it.

when the portents[1] were seen in the heavens, to the time when the illustrious Emperor of the Han[2] dynasty beheld in his dream the golden statue, the doctrine having spread through India, reached even to China; until, I, Wong Puh, born at the very limit of the period of image worship,[3] receiving and collecting the true words, have thus compiled and connected them; residing at Piu-ling, without any pretence to inspiration (literally, not observing the gemmous characteristic). All immediate revelation has ceased; the various systems of religious instruction emit their light: the words bequeathed to us as deposits of the true faith, remain unchanged, treasured in the several original collections. His apparitional forms all depending on his one true nature, in this Bhadra Kalpa, he appeared perfect in merit. His varied conduct, manifested in this true system, the treasured Karma of Asankhêyas of ages. He was born from the divided side of his mother, in order to destroy the three evils of old age, disease and death. His brows arched like the rainbow, his eyes ribbed like the leaf of the Lotus, the Rishi divining his destiny, wept; the Dêvas contend in their desire to render him honour; his head anointed as the son of a Chakravarttin, the flying discus proclaims his dignity; descended from the illustrious race of the sun, in the family of Sinha Okaka; placed under the tuition of illustrious teachers; able at fifteen years of age to thrum the string of the ancestral bow; taking a tour of inspection, he was brought to reflection by seeing the sick man and the corpse; passing out of the city, he left his attendants and his wife; he cut off his flowing locks with his own royal sword; he exchanged clothes with the hunter whom he met; he dwelt in retreats familiar to the roaming deer; he reduced his body by the

[1] This refers to certain portents recorded in the history of these dynasties.

[2] That is Ming Ti, A.D. 62.

[3] This refers to the prediction that for 500 years after Buddha's death the True Law should be preached, and for the next 1000 years the worship of images should last; vide *Lotus*, p. 365.

severest austerities to the substance of a shadow; then he partook of the offering of the rice milk, having discarded all human knowledge. Sitting on the mat, the kingdom of Mâra was moved with fear; he came forth from the temptation pure as the lily which bursts forth on the water. Bright as a mirror was the opening of his wisdom's store, lofty as the mountains, deep as the sea, like the thunder and the lightning flash was the brilliancy and the depth of his penetration. His teaching was developed according to the three periods above named, every species of being was able to receive his doctrine, he answered well the four questions of Ananda, he converted the ten Rishis, he delivered his prediction concerning Maitreya, he lay down beneath the Sala trees, at the opening of spring, he bequeathed the precious relics after the burning of the perfumed pyre. Such are the records which I, the last of my race, born in this latest period, have compiled as a legacy of truth.

[For explanations of the various incidents and allusions referred to in the above "Legend of Sakya," I must refer the reader to the translation found in the twentieth vol. of the *Journal of the R. Asiatic Soc.*, part II, 1863.]

PART II.

Chapter I.—BUDDHISM AS A RELIGIOUS SYSTEM.

"Religion, we are told, is always the expression of an idea."[1] The idea underlying the Buddhist religious system is simply this, "all is vanity." Earth is a vain show, and Heaven is a vain reward. This is the fundamental idea of Buddhism. And this idea of unreality, which took its rise from a moral conviction, penetrated the system when it passed into a Philosophy. At first, indeed, the existence of the world and its phænomena was not controverted. Primitive Buddhism did not concern itself with questions of that kind. It was engrossed, absorbed by one thought—the vanity of finite existence, the priceless value of the one condition of Eternal Rest. But when it was driven into the region of speculation, this idea of "vanity" projected itself on the front of its arguments. All is "vain" was still its theme; only the emptiness spoken of here is the absence of any substantial existence in the phænomenal world. "The Nature of individual substance is impermanency; that which is called substance is therefore no such thing, the Nature of individual substance being thus without any substantial element or basis: we speak of it as vain (empty) and perishable."[2] This is the philosophical idea underlying the speculations of mediæval Buddhism. How this led to the third stage of belief,[3] that everything is vain except the One great reality, a universally

[1] Baring Gould, *Origin and Development of Religious Belief*, p. 68.

[2] The slôka on which the Shaster known in Chinese as the "Yih-shu-lu-kia-lun" is founded. Vide *Journal of the Shanghai Literary and Scientific Society*, No. 1, June 1858, p. 110.

[3] The Doctrine of Tathâgata embraces three periods: in the first, he proves that everything exists; in the second, he proves that all is empty; in the third, he proves that there is nothing either existent or non-existent (*i. e.*, that there is only one state of existence, which admits of no formula). Wassilief, *Buddhisme* (Ed. Fr.), p. 183.

diffused "self" or essence, may be noticed elsewhere; we simply remark that this conclusion is perfectly in keeping with the original Text of the system. The non-existence of the "Ego" (to use the common phrase) forced the confession of the necessary existence of the "non-ego"; for Buddhism never went so far as to deny the fact of "existence." The King of Sagal said to Nagasena "Does the all-wise (Buddha) *exist?*[1] Nagasena replied—"He who is the most meritorious does exist"; and again—"Great King! Nirwana *is*."[2] It follows, then, as a philosophical necessity, that if all else is unreal except that which necessarily *is*, there can be no place or time in which "That" does not exist; and this I take to be the idea of the "ultimate unity" into which Buddhism finally resolved itself.

To revert, however, to the basis of Primitive Buddhism, or, Buddhism regarded as a Religious system. We must remember that the origin of this system is no mere isolated fact in the history of Religions Beliefs; it was the rectification, so to speak, of the religious element in man, after ages of oppression. It was just one of those reactions which, if we may use a somewhat unusual expression, "vertebrate" History, whether religious or profane. The grand objective Belief of the Vedic age had subsided into an unintelligent and servile worship, the invention of a priestly class which arrogated to itself the exclusive privilege of framing for the rest the objects of worship, as well as regulating the method of it. The expression of religious feelings and of religious convictions is an instinct, and can no more be forbidden or checked than we can forbid the river to flow or check its progress. Neither is it a blind instinct; it will always search after, and in the end find out, its object, as the "cygnet finds the water."[3] Therefore, when Sakya Muni, in the midst of the existing degradation of Religion, declared that there was no peace or Rest to be found in the world, except by seeking out the cause of all sorrow, and

[1] *Eastern Monachism*, p. 300. [2] *Eastern Monachism*, p. 295.
[3] Aurora Leigh.

crushing it in its bud; and when he further declared that the cause of all sorrow consisted in "cleaving to Life" (upadana) and "evil desire" (trishna), and that in order to destroy these, men must mortify appetite and practise virtue, and walk in the "paths" of a Religion, the object of which was to bind them to this mode of life, and to facilitate their advance in it—in teaching this—he satisfied the instinct of the people, and according to his degree and the light he had, he rectified the religious tendency of the age.

Primitive Buddhism, then, is just this, a revulsion from a degraded and unsatisfying ceremonial worship to a moral conviction that Life and its pleasures are insufficient to satisfy the cravings of the heart; and, that virtue is the only road to happiness.

There are three ways in which his apprehension of such fundamental truths may be explained: either Sakya had been brought into contact with those already acquainted with them; or he had returned from his own choice to a traditional belief; or he had discovered them by his own heart-searchings and the spiritual perception he possessed. In either way, it is possible to account for the fact of his illumination. Perhaps, however, the second supposition is the most probable one. There were undoubtedly Traditions amongst the people of the Doctrines of other Buddhas who preceded Sakya. Some of these we shall give below. Whencesoever derived, they contain truth; and Sakya's illumination may have resulted from acquaintance with them, and deep ponderings about them. At any rate, however we may account for it, the phænomenon remains the same, that at an early period, perhaps as early as the seventh century before Christ, a Sage appeared in India, who, by the simple power of his Teaching, inaugurated a new æra in the Religious History of the Eastern world, and whose Doctrine still exercises a vast influence over the destinies of millions of the human race. We cannot afford to ignore such a fact. We may affect to disregard it, but every candid person will desire to have the subject impartially discussed.

But Religion is not only the expression of an idea, but it is the discovery of a plan.[1] To say that the world is a vain show, and that there is only one condition of Rest, may be recognised as True by the Religious instinct; but the question then springs to the lips, how shall we attain the Rest and escape the sorrow. We are told by a writer[2] well acquainted with the subject "that Buddhism presents no adequate knowledge of the means which are indispensable for the attainment of the end it proposes, viz., happiness here and hereafter......and therefore the utmost Triumph of this Religion is to live without fear and to die without hope." Whether such a conclusion is justified by the premisses, we shall not now consider, but merely remark that the necessity of supplying a knowledge of the means requisite for the desired end was recognised by the Founder of the Religion. The last of the four great Truths which formed the immediate outcome of Sakya's inspiration was this—that the only way to escape the sorrow of Life, and attain the happiness of Nirvâna (Rest), was by entering the "Paths," in other words, by complying with the method of Salvation exhibited in his system.

What, then, was this method? In the first instance it was probably nothing but a public profession of discipleship (a submission to be taught) by taking refuge in Buddha, the Law, and the Church. But afterwards it included a personal discipline, requiring the disciple to give up all family connections and all property, wife, children, houses, or lands; to shave his head, and assume the robes and take the vows; and, lastly, to enter on a "regular" life, the principal rule being absolute mendicancy. In this way it was declared the mind would pass, by successive stages, from the lowest to the highest grade, and eventually, if not in the present birth, yet in consequence of its good Karma (works), find complete deliverance.

[1] Τελος ου γνωσις αλλα πραξις.

Arist. *Eth. Nic.*, I. 3.

[2] *Christianity in Ceylon*, p. 227, Sir J. E. Tennent.

This was the method proposed by Sakya for escaping the sorrows of Life.

But religion also includes the idea of Worship. And respecting this also a trustworthy writer[1] has said that "the worship of Buddhism was not one of form and ceremony, but an appeal to Reason only: Religion, therefore, he adds, it can hardly be called, for it opens no field for the play of the emotions. It is rather a school of philosophy." But the writer of this statement can hardly have considered that the original disciples of Buddhism were not philosophers, but men and women of all classes in society, and in some cases outcasts and chandâlas. It was the glory of Buddhism to admit of no caste in Religion, and to offer Salvation alike to Brahman and Sudra. This simple truth, by itself, would offer a large field for "the play of the emotions." But the same writer adds, on the same page of his work, that "it was Fear which threw multitudes at the feet of Buddha, the fear of an eternity of Revolution through the cycle of animal existences"; in other words, the fear of "eternal misery." But is not such Fear a necessary, nay a chief, part of all Religion? Is it not an emotion of the highest order? How, then, can it be said that "this system opens no field for the play of the emotions." But, in fact, it was not only the fear of an eternity of Revolution through the cycle of animal existences (or, the writer might have added, existence in the nether world, the earth-prisons of Hell), but also the hope of escaping these and attaining eternal Rest, that brought these multitudes to the feet of Buddha: and Hope, again, is a powerful sentiment; and where such Fear and such Hope exist there must be gratitude and reverence, nay, and love—and these, again, are sentiments. So, that on no ground can we accept the assertion that Buddhism is not a Religion, but a school of philosophy.

The Worship of the Buddhists is principally paid to the triple object of their veneration—Buddha, the Law, and the Church. This is conveyed to us in the well-known Chinese formula

[1] Baring Gould, *Origin and Development*, p. 358.

"Namo Fo, namo Fah, namo Sang"; in Ceylon and the Southern schools,[1] this adoration is somewhat differently expressed: "Namo Tassa Bhagavato Arahato Samma Sambuddhassa"—Praise be to the Blessed One, the Holy One, the Author of all Truth." But their worship extends to other objects. "It was declared by Gôtama Buddha to Ananda that the objects proper to be worshipped are of three kinds. 1. Seririka; 2. Uddesika; 3. Paribhogika; The first class includes the relics of his body, which were collected after his cremation; the second, includes those such as images of his person (dagobas, etc.); and the third, things which have been erected on his account or for his sake, includes the articles he possessed, such as his girdle, alms bowl, the robe he put on, the vessel he drank water from, his seat or throne, etc."[2] There is also another division, in which is included the Dharma or doctrines which he taught, or the Sacred Books.

In the last division of Paribhogika is also included the Bo Tree, at the foot of which he became enlightened. These objects of worship (except images) are recognised in the earliest records we have of the Religion, and especially in the primitive sculptures found at Sanchi. The worship is rendered not only by men, but by the Gods and the demi-gods; the idea, in fact, which pervades the whole system, is that all things in Heaven and earth and under the earth ought to worship Him, the all-wise Buddha. However difficult it is to explain the inconsistency of worshipping an extinct Being—such as Buddha is said to have become at his death—the difficulty has never interfered with the actual practice. Nagasena, in one of his conversations with Melinda, endeavours to explain the difficulty, but with no great success. He illustrates his argument in many ways: the wind, he says, dies out and becomes extinct; but on that can any one say that the wind no longer is?—the passing

[1] For the Burmese form of this act of praise, and an exegesis of it, vide Bigandet, *Legend of the Burmese Buddha*, p. 1, ss. and notes.

[2] *Eastern Monachism*, p. 216.

stroke of a fan will excite it again. How can it be spoken of, then, as non-existent. "Even so," he says, "the virtue of Buddha is everywhere diffused, even as the wind, which spreads itself in every direction; but yet, as that same wind which dies out is not again produced, so there is no reception of the offerings on the part of Buddha."[1] But, in point of fact, these scholastic refinements did not affect the early Belief. If we turn to the plates given by Mr. Fergusson, in his work *Tree and Serpent Worship*, we shall see at once what this Belief was. For example, in fig. 2, pl. xxiv, is an instance of worship rendered by Kinnaras, Kumbhandas, and Nâgas to the Bo-Tree. I would observe, however, that the worship is not offered to the Tree as if it were the residence of a Tree-Dêva or Dryad, but simply as it suggests an association of mind with the complete emancipation of Buddha beneath its shade; hence it will be seen, the Diamond seat or throne beneath the Tree is a joint object of adoration. So, again, in fig. 3, plate xxv, we see Dêvas and men rendering worship to the same objects, the throne being distinguished by the presence of the sacred symbol of the Mani, or threefold gem, indicating the all-supreme Buddha.[2] And so we might notice the character of this primitive Worship as it is illustrated in almost every plate throughout the work in question. So that, notwithstanding every metaphysical difficulty, we cannot doubt that worship was offered

[1] *E. M.*, 230.

[2] Compare with this worship the following lines from the *Khuddaka Pátha*, a Pali text:—

> "Ye spirits here assembled, those of earth and
> those of air—let us bow before Buddha,
> the Tathâgata revered by Gods and men.
> Ye spirits here assembled, those of earth
> and those of air, let us bow before the Law,
> the Tathâgata revered by Gods and men.
> Ye spirits here assembled, those of earth and
> those of air—let us bow before the Church,
> the Tathâgata revered by Gods and men."
>
> *Khuddaka Páthà*, vi. 15, 16, 17.
> *J. R. A. S.*, vol. iv, part 2, N. S.

to the memory of the all-wise Buddha from the earliest times.

There is one other marked feature in the Religion of which we are speaking, to which we can only allude: I mean the important part that "Meditation" occupies in its regulations. The theory is simply this: that by profound meditation we may become united to the Divinity,[1] or at any rate arrive at perfect tranquillity (samâdhi), which is supposed to be the highest possible condition of Mind. And yet (and this, in fact, is the difficulty of all such discussions) supreme mind is supposed to be "unconditioned." At any rate, by "meditation," it is declared, we arrive at the emancipation of mind from the sorrows and evils of Life. It has been said, by a writer alluded to previously, that Religion to rise must mount on two wings, "reason and sentiment." In China the same fact is conveyed in the words of Chi-Kai, a famous priest, a founder of the Tian Tai school. "The two powers, Wisdom and Sentiment (meditation) are as the two wheels of a chariot, or the two wings of a bird—both necessary in order to arrive at perfection." And again, "A Srâvaka by meditation alone can never behold (or apprehend) the Divine Nature, nor can the wisdom of the greatest Bôdhisatwa, by itself, cause him to arrive at Perfection; but he who is thoroughly versed in Prajña (wisdom), and also deeply exercised in the practice of severe meditation, he shall arrive at Nirvâna."[3] It is well known that the Buddhists go to an extreme in this particular; they sometimes devote themselves to the practice of Dhyâna or meditation in such a manner as to produce

[1] Compare the remark of Bayle—"the end to which Plotinus directed his thoughts was to unite himself to the Great God; he attained it by the *unitive* method of the Quietists."—*Critical Dict.*, art. Plotinus. Now the unitive method spoken of is precisely that of the Buddhists—"wou yih nim," "not one single reflection"—*i. e.*, shut out all active thought, and by a passive absorption the soul is rapt into the Divine essence.

[2] Baring Gould, 367.

[3] Shiu-chi-kwan, Preface.

mental imbecility, or we might term it perhaps mental paralysis: they use various methods in the practice of it to secure, as they think, the desired effect, just as the Quietists in the fourteenth century used similar methods to produce the same result. "The hesychasts or Quietists of Mount Athos, we are told, in accordance with the prescription of their early Teachers, said there was a Divine light hid in the soul, and they seated themselves daily in some retired corner and fixed their eyes steadfastly for a considerable time upon the middle of their belly or navel, and in that situation they boasted that a sort of Divine light beamed forth upon them from the mind itself, which diffused through their souls wonderful delight,[1] and on this account they were called *Ομφαλοψυχοι*."[2]

So Chi-Kai,[3] in the section of his work on meditation, lays down the following rules:—"At the time of entering Dhyâna (*i. e.*, meditation) the body ought to be properly at rest: the first thing is to arrange the legs; then the clothes must be properly adjusted; next the hands must be placed in an easy position; the spine upright; the head straight; the nose exactly plumb with the navel, neither awry nor higher or lower." And again, "The first requirement for the attainment of Samâdhi is to bind the influences of the heart by confining one's attention to some fixed point, as the middle of the navel, not permitting any suggestion to divert the attention from that one thing. Hence the Scripture says—"Bind the attention (heart) so that it cannot escape, as one binds an ape with a chain." Again, we are told "that the first principle of the Quietists was that the soul must make no reflections, and make use of the will by an internal recollection and a contemplation

[1] Compare the remark of Bigandet (p. 446, *Legend of the Burmese Buddha*), "the third stage of meditation is that of Piti, or a sort of mental delectation; the fourth is Suka, or perfect and permanent pleasure and inward delight."

[2] Mosheim, cap. v, part ii, century xiv.

[3] Chi Kai in the "Shiu Chi-Kwan," part ii.

which they call acquired."[1] Again, "The Quietists by their doctrine exclude all reflection."[2] Again,[3] "The contemplative soul views God by a light which is the Divine essence, and even the soul is that Divine light itself. The soul ceases to be in the existence which in its own Nature properly belonged to it. It is changed, transformed, swallowed up in the Divine Being, and flows into the ideal Being,[4] which it had in the Divine Being from all eternity." These quotations might be multiplied, if necessary; but the conclusion we may already draw, is, that the "meditation" of the Buddhist, the aim of which was to exclude all active thought, was to a great extent identical with that of the Quietists. This, then, is the aspect of Buddhism regarded as a Religious Belief.

Before concluding these remarks there are two observations yet to be made. First, with respect to the possibility of there being any religious element, strictly so called, in a system which is declared to be Atheistic.[5] Doubtless the true definition of Religion, both as to the meaning of the word, and also with respect to the principle, character, and privilege it represents, is "the binding of the soul to God by Love." But is the word always so used? Is it not frequently confined to the narrow sense of "attachment to a system, or to a church or creed?" In these latter senses the term may strictly be applied to Buddhism. And even with respect to the highest meaning of the word—"the binding of the soul to God"—although Buddhism is confessedly ignorant of the existence of a Supreme Personal God, it by no means follows that it is an "atheistic system"; it does not deny the existence of "Lords many and Gods

[1] Bernard Picquart, vol. i, 275. [2] *Ib.*

[3] John Rusbrok, quoted as above.

[4] Compare the Dharmakaya of the Buddhists.

[5] "The idea of a Supreme Being is nowhere mentioned by Buddha: in the course of his religious disputations with the Brahmans he combats the notions of a God, coolly establishing the most crude Atheism" (Bigandet, p. 2, n). Perhaps if the Bishop had said "he combated *their* notions of a God," it would have been nearer the fact of the case.

many," but what it affirms is, that the mind can never be satisfied with any idea of "God" that includes in it impermanency or defect of any sort, and that "personality" is a defect,[1] for it individualises the subject of it, and that which is "individual" cannot be universal, and therefore cannot be God. Buddhism, in fact, declares itself ignorant of any mode of personal existence compatible with the idea of spiritual perfection, and so far it is ignorant of God. But still, there are strange approaches made to the truth. There is *something*, at any rate, existing, which is independent of accidents or conditions; and, whatever *that* is, to it the Buddhist looks as the ultimate condition of all Being. However imperfect this apprehension of Truth may be, we repeat, it is an approach to the Truth.

But it is also said that the Buddhist can have no real hope or aim in life or in death, as his utmost expectation hereafter is extinction or annihilation. If this were so, the system would be indeed a hideous one.[2] But it appears that the idea of "annihilation" as the equivalent of Nirvâna must be confined (if at all) to one period only in the history of the system, and that period one during which scholastic refinement sought to explain or define that which is, in its very nature, incapable of definition, viz., the condition of the Infinite; for, all along, Buddhism assumes that the same condition awaits the "emancipated soul" as is enjoyed by the Supreme Mind; and hence the constant reference to the state of the soul that has "gone across" (paramîtâ) to *that* shore where there is no "birth or death." This state, because it admits of no positive definition, is described "*viâ remotionis*,"[3] *i. e.*, by stripping from it every conceivable

[1] I am here speaking of Primitive Buddhism. In the last development of the system, "Personality" is declared to be one of the characteristics of Nirvâna. Vide the Parinirvâna Sûtra, *passim*.

[2] "C'est là un système hideux j'en conviens; mais c'est un système parfaitement conséquent. Il n'y a pas trace de l'idée de Dieu dans le Buddhisme entier, ni au débût, ni au terme." *Le Bouddha et sa Religion*, p. iv.

[3] Dionysius the Areopagite, and from him all the schoolmen, assign

imperfection, and the process is carried to such an extent, by the subtle logic of the schools, that at length nothing is left for the mind to lay hold of; and this is the annihilation spoken of.

But in the earliest and latest schools there is a different complexion given to the idea of Nirvâna. In the first period, the thought seems to have been simply confined to a state of rest—rest or escape from all possible sorrow; and to this state, without attempting to describe or define it, Buddha directed his followers to aim. In the latest school, the idea of Nirvâna was "restoration to the True condition of Being." It would be tedious to bring proofs of this, for many of the latest works or Sûtras consist of the one idea, that there is but one Nature, to which all other Natures must in the end return; and this "return" or "ultimate union" is the perfection of the one Nature of Buddha.

So far we have thought it right to direct the attention of the reader to the consideration of Buddhism as a Religion; for it seems that as yet the subject has scarcely been treated in a comprehensive manner, in view of the whole development of the system; and it is necessary, before appealing to original authorities, to be familiar with the general outline of the subject.

The method I propose to adopt in the following extracts, is to gather first of all, from the Gâthas or verses scattered in various works, and which certainly are of great antiquity, such primitive ideas of the object and principles of this Religion as they will fairly provide, and then proceed to translate several works which, from evidence of a strong character, may be accepted as embodying the earliest ideas contained in this system of Belief.

three ways by which we are to frame our ideas of the Nature of God, viz., viam causalitatis, viam eminentiæ, viam remotionis. Scott's *Christian Life*, p. 306.

PRIMITIVE IDEAS.

1. The four Truths[1] form the basis of ancient Buddhism. They are met with in every Buddhist compilation[2] known to us. They are these: 1. The reality of misery; 2. The cause of its aggregation; 3. The possibility of its destruction; 4. The means requisite.

In a Chinese glossary appended to the *Breviary of the Shamans*, these Truths are thus explained. "The four great Truths (sse ti), by observing which the Sravaka (Shing-wen) may reach his reward, are these. To know the truth that misery (Dukha) exists and is ever accumulating, resolutely to aim at its destruction, by devotion to wisdom. To know that by destroying the cause of accumulation and so removing the cause of misery, deliverance may be obtained—these are the four Truths of the Sravaka."[3]

A Gâtha,[4] common to all the schools, is that well known one given in the *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 196, beginning "Ye dhamma." This contains the pith of Sakya's Doctrine, as given by Asvajit[5] to Sariputra, and also to Mugalan (or Mâudgalyâyana): it is found in the notes appended to the *Memorials of Tathâgata*, by Wong Puh (Aphorism 77). "One day, as Sariputra (Shi-li-fuh), was passing along the road, he met Asvajit (Ma-shing) carrying his staff and alms bowl, his garments clean and properly arranged, his gait slow and dignified. Pleased at the circumstance, he asked him, saying, "Who is your master?" Asvajit replied, "The Great Shaman Buddha,[6] he is my

[1] Chatur ârya satyâni.

[2] Spence Hardy, *M. B.*, 496; Bigandet, p. 144; Burnouf, Introd., 629; Wassilief (from the Chinese of Vasumitra), p. 224.

[3] The "four truths" will be illustrated in the next section.

[4] This Gâtha is very frequently found printed on slips of paper, and placed in the middle of the small "Josses" or "idols" found in Chinese Temples.

[5] Asvajit, we must remember, was one of the five men converted in the Deer Park, and therefore one of the earliest of Buddha's disciples.

[6] Compare the Southern Title, "Maha Samanakodam."

master." Again he asked, "What Law does he teach?" To which he replied, "I am but just converted" (the disciple of a day), "and cannot recollect much. But, in brief, one Gâtha may exhibit his Doctrine, and it is this—

"The origin (birth) of all things is the result of *cause;*
The cessation of existence likewise results from cause.
I, Buddha, the Great Sramana,
Ever declare this to be the Truth."

In other words, this Gâtha teaches us the Truth that birth and death result from *cause;* and to find out that *cause* and destroy it is the secret of attaining to that state of existence in which there is neither "birth nor death," in other words, the permanent state of Being known as Nirvâna.

Another Gâtha, generally connected with the former,[1] beginning "Sabba pápassa," is met with in Chinese works. It forms the text and groundwork of the treatise of Chi Kai, called "Siau Chi Kwan"; this Gâtha[2] is undoubtedly of a very primitive character.

"Scrupulously avoiding all wicked actions;
Reverently performing all virtuous ones;
Purifying this intention from all selfish ends:
This is the doctrine of all the Buddhas."

There is another allusion to the primitive Doctrine of Buddhism in the 67th Section of the first Kiouen of the Surañgama Sûtra. "At this time, Tathâgata, unfolding his beautifully soft and silky hand, displayed his five-circled fingers, and continued his discourse thus for the instruction of Ananda and the Great Congregation. 'When I first arrived

[1] Vide Spence Hardy, *M. B.*, 196, n.

[2] This Gâtha is thus rendered by Spence Hardy. "This is the advice of the Buddhas: avoid all demerit; obtain all merit; cleanse the mind from all evil desire." It is thus translated by Csoma Korosi:—

"No vice is to be committed;
Every virtue must be perfectly practised;
The mind must be brought under entire subjection:
This is the commandment of Buddha."

at complete inspiration, on the occasion of my preaching in the Deer Park, for the sake of Adjnata and the other mendicants, my words were these: 'All creatures fail to obtain Supreme Wisdom and the condition of a Rahat, from the deception of the "guest" and the "dust" troubles.' Which of you, at that time, in consequence of my instruction, arrived at the condition of sanctity you now enjoy?

'Then Kaundinya, rising from his seat, addressed Buddha, and said: "I, who am now so old, of all in the great assembly, alone obtained the name of 'saved'; and it was because I understood the comparisons of the 'guest' and 'dust' that I obtained the fruit of Salvation.

'World-honour'd one![1] your comparison was this: that as a traveller takes up his quarters at an inn, and having rested and refreshed himself, sets out again on his weary journey, and has no leisure to Rest or remain fixed (so is Man in his Natural condition); whereas the true master of the house moves not from the place of his abode. So, that which is impermanent and unfixed is like the traveller, but that which is fixed we call the Master of the House; this is the parable of the Guest.

'And again, as in the case of a clear sky, when the bright Sun is shining, a ray of light perchance enters through a crack in a door, and spreading its brightness in the space through which it passes, exhibits all the particles of dust in commotion; as to the dust, its nature is commotion and unrest, but as to the space in which the particles move, its Nature is Rest; so also is the condition of man in the condition of unrest and permanency (Nirvâna).'"

From the above extract we may gather that the primitive doctrine of Buddhism centred in this idea of change and of Rest, and that the aim of its Founder was to induce men to seek the condition of Rest and fixity, found in the practice

[1] This title is very commonly applied to Buddha. It is rendered by Prof. Julien "Lôkadjyêchtha," but it seems to me to be merely a Chinese form of the title of Vishnu "Janárddana." Vide *Vishnu Purana*, p. 19, n.

of the Precepts, in other words, "Peace" resulting from moral Purity.

At the end of the Chinese version of the Pratimôksha, we find several Gâthas of the same simple and unvarnished character.

> "Patience and resignation is the one Road;
> Buddha has declared no better path exists:
> The disciple who is angry or impatient
> Cannot really be called a Shaman."

A similar sentiment occurs in the following Gâthas taken from the work of Chi Kài, before alluded to:—

> "What is it puts an end to peace and joy?
> What is it overthrows all self-possession?
> What is it, like a poisonous root,
> Destroys all virtue of the heart and life?

To which Buddha replied—

> "Destroy anger and there will be Rest;
> Destroy anger and there will be Peace;
> Anger is the poisonous Root
> Which overthrows the growth of virtue.

But again we have, at the end of the work before named (the Pratimôksha), traditional records respecting the teaching of the former Buddhas—

> "As a man whose eyes are enlightened
> Is able to clear away every obstruction in his path,
> So the man whose mind is illuminated
> Is able to avoid the evils of Life."
> (Vipasyin Tathâgata).

Again—

> "Without complaint, without envy;
> Continuing in the practice of the Precepts;
> Knowing the way to moderate appetite;
> Ever joyous, without any weight of care;
> Fixed and ever advancing in virtue:
> This is the doctrine of all the Buddhas."
> (Sikhin Tathâgata).

Again—

"As the butterfly alights on the flower
And destroys not its form or its sweetness,
But taking a sip, forthwith departs,
So the mendicant follower of Buddha
Takes not nor hurts another's possessions,
Observes not another man's actions or omissions,
Looks only to his own behaviour and conduct,
Takes care to observe if this is correct or not."

(Wessabhu Tathâgata).

Again—

"The heart, scrupulously avoiding all idle dissipation,
Diligently applying itself to the Holy Law of Buddha,
Letting go all lust and consequent disappointment,
Fixed and unchangeable, enters on Nirvâna."

(Krakusanda Tathâgata).

Again—

"Practising no evil way;
Advancing in the exercise of virtue;
Purifying both mind and will;
This is the Doctrine of all the Buddhas."

(Konagamana Tathâgata).

Again—

"The man who guards his mouth with virtuous motive,
And cleanses both his mind and will,
Permits his body to engage in nothing wrong;
This is the triple purification,
To attain to which,
Is the full Doctrine of all the Buddhas."

(Kasyapa Tathâgata).

From these Gâthas, which might be extended, it seems plain that the primitive Doctrine of Buddhism addressed itself to the consideration of the question of the existence of sorrow (moral evil) and the mode of deliverance from it, and to this alone. And the earliest idea of Nirvâna seems to have included in it no more than the enjoyment of a state of Rest, consequent on the utter extinction of all causes of sorrow.

THE FOUR TRUTHS.

2. The confession of belief known as the "four Truths" formed, as we have already observed, the basis of Primitive Buddhism. It was so regarded by every sect and school throughout the various changes or developments which the system underwent. Accordingly, we are not surprised to find it dwelt upon at some length in one of the latest of the expanded Sûtras known as the Mahâ pari nirvâna Sûtra. This production, which is evidently the same as the Mahâ pari nibbana Sutta of Ceylon,[1] seems to contain an exposition of the Buddhist Faith when it was lapsing into Vaishnava worship. The four characteristics of Nirvâna are in this work stated to be permanence, personality, joy, purity; and the entire universe to be one with the Nature of Buddha, excepting the Daityas,[2] the enemies of Vishnu; the aim being evidently to show the existence of a universal spirit (Hari), which is, in fact, the belief in Vishnu. In the 12th Kiouen of this work we meet with the following account of the subject of the present consideration.

"Again, Kasyapa, there is a Confession of Faith (Shing hing) known as the four sacred Truths—sorrow, accumulation, destruction, the way. These are the four. Kasyapa! Sorrow; that is, the distinction known as pressure from external suffering. Accumulation; that is, the distinction known as life-growth. Destruction; that is, the distinction known as the extinction resulting in Perfect Rest (Nirvâna). The way; that is, the distinction known as the Great Vehicle. Again, illustrious one, we may define sorrow as the characteristic of the Present; accumulation as the characteristic of revolution; destruction as the characteristic of rejection; and the way as the characteristic of the means by which this rejection operates. Again, illustrious one,

[1] Burnouf, *Lotus*, 291, 339, etc.

[2] So, at least, I take the expression yih-tchen-tai (often written tchen-tai). Yih-tchen-tai corresponds to the Sanscrit "âtyantika," and this refers to the "infinite" wickedness of the Daityas.

Sorrow has three characteristics: the sorrow of pain (arising from birth, decay, and death); the sorrow of Life (conduct, or the sequence of existence); the sorrow of Ruin or perdition (in Hell). Accumulation; that is, the twenty-five bhuvanas or places of existence. Destruction; that is, the destruction of these twenty-five places. The Way; that is, the repose and perfect illumination resulting from practising the Precepts. Again, illustrious disciple, sorrow may be defined as the result or reward of an imperfect observance of the Law; accumulation, as the causes which lead to such a result or reward; destruction, as the result or reward of a perfect observance of the Law; and the Way, as the causes which lead to such a result. Again, illustrious disciple, there are eight distinct kinds or marks of sorrow: they are —1. Birth; 2. Old age; 3. Disease; 4. Death; 5. The removal of that which is loved; 6. The presence of that which is disliked; 7. The inability of obtaining that which is sought; 8. The five skandhas.[1] Living in continual subjection to these sorrows is called accumulation. The absence of such necessity is called destruction. Whilst the possession of the ten powers (dasabalas), the four intrepidities, the three powers of recollection (trividyâs), and great Mercy —this is called the Way. Now, illustrious one, with respect to the first sorrow, viz., Birth, there are five steps or degrees in this also. 1. Conception; 2. Quickening; 3. Growth; 4. Parturition; 5. Classification as to species. With respect to old age, there are two divisions of this sorrow. 1. Constantly thinking about old age; 2. Actual decrepitude of body. Again, there are two other modes of considering this sorrow, viz., 1. As to the increasing advance of age; and 2. As to the loss and destruction of faculties. Such is old age. What, then, about the third sorrow, viz., Disease? Disease is sometimes spoken of as the poisonous snake of the four elements, which no power can heal or overcome. It may be regarded under two aspects, body disease and

[1] Compare the account given by Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 496.

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mind (heart) disease. As to the first, there are five sorts of body disease. 1. Caused by water; 2. Caused by wind; 3. Caused by heat; 4. Miscellaneous; 5. Accidental (such as falling down, or cutting oneself, or the result of diabolical influence). Of mind disease there are four kinds. 1. Undue excitement; 2. Undue fear; 3. Undue sorrow; 4. Darkness and unbelief (delusion). Again, illustrious disciple, there are three aspects under which we may regard both body and mind disease. 1. As the result of Karma; 2. As resulting from the inability to put away or avoid evil destiny (or influence); 3. Congenital or constitutional infirmities (resulting from elemental causes, and known by various names, as heart disease, liver disease, etc., etc.) So much about disease; and now as to the sorrow called death. Death is just putting off one's body, and may be spoken of 1. As the death which naturally comes when life is worn out; 2. As death resulting from external influences. Again, there is a spiritual and a natural death; the first consisting in reviling the Law of Buddha, or breaking the commandments; the latter being the breaking up of the five skandhas. Again, with respect to the fifth sorrow, viz., the removal of that which is loved, this consists in the loss of pleasures resulting from the decay of the animal life (the five skandhas), and may be spoken of as relating to men or to Dêvas. Again, with respect to the sixth sorrow, viz., the presence of that which is disliked, this may be referred to the sorrows attending a birth in Hell, or as a Prêta, or as a brute beast. Again, with respect to the sorrow spoken of as inability to obtain that which is sought, this may relate either to failure to obtain any coveted position in life, or failure to gain the reward of supposed merit (in another life). And the last sorrow, which is spoken of as the heaped-up skandhas, consists in the presence of all the former. Such, then, Kasyapa, are the eight sorrows, of which the origin and source is to be found in 'Birth.' With respect to old age, the Dêvas and Buddha are purely exempt from this, but men may or may not experience it. But in all the three worlds 'birth'

is certain, and is therefore characterised as the origin and fount of evil. And yet men are so beclouded, that they actually covet and desire birth, whilst they hate and detest old age and death. But with the Bôdhisatwas it is not so, for they observe that it is this priority of 'birth' that leads to the after sorrow. Kasyapa! it is just as if there were a woman who came to a certain man's house, a woman of elegant form and lovely beyond comparison; her body adorned with every decoration and costly ornament. The Master of the house having seen her, immediately sends to ask her name and her family, to which she replies that she is a Goddess, and her name is Merit (Kung tih). The Master again demands why she had come to his poor abode. To which she replies, I have come that I may give you every kind of precious treasure—gold and silver, gems and pearls of every sort, elephants and horses, chariots and slaves. The Master having heard it, his heart is filled with exultation, he dances for joy, and his happiness knows no bounds. 'What blessedness is mine,' he says, 'that you should have come to me, and found out my poor abode.' Then he honours her with incense and flowers, and pays her every kind of worship.

"But, in the meantime, at his gate he beholds another woman, her appearance revolting and hideous; her garments worn and bedaubed with filth; her skin haggard and wrinkled, and of a sickly white colour. On seeing her, he demands also her name and family; to which she replies, 'My name is "Blackness and darkness."'[1] Again he asks why she is called by such a name; to which she answers, 'To whatever place I go, my office is to destroy and consume whatever wealth or costly gems there are in the abode.' On hearing this, the Master forthwith draws his sword and speaks thus: 'Be off! and that at once! for if not, I will kill you.' The woman, in reply, says: 'How very foolish and deluded you are! utterly

[1] The expression simply means "Dark," and is probably a translation of the Sanscrit Kâla, which in one sense means "Darkness" and in another "Time" or "the God of Death."

without wisdom!' The Master replies, 'What mean you by these words "delusion" and "wisdom?"' The woman answers: 'She who is now in your house is my sister; I ever accompany her wherever she goes, and we dwell together. If you drive me from your door, you must expel her also.' The Master forthwith returns within his house, and addresses the Goddess Merit thus: 'Outside my door is a woman, who says she is your sister; is it true or not?' The Goddess Merit replies: 'It is true, indeed; she is my sister; we ever accompany one another, and dwell together; never yet have we been parted; wherever we dwell, I ever bring good, but she ever brings evil. I ever cause gain, she ever contrives ruin; if you love me, you must also love her; if you reverence and worship me, you must reverence her also.' The Master, on this, replies at once, 'If the case be even thus, I will have neither of you with me; you may both of you depart as soon as you please.' On this, the two women, hand in hand, return from whence they came; on which the Master of the House, beholding their departure, is filled with joy, and exceedingly glad. Then the two women, going side by side, come to a certain poor man's house, who, when he sees them, is glad, and forthwith asks them, as a favour, from that moment to take up their abode and ever dwell with him. Then the Goddess Merit said, 'We have just been driven away from yonder house. What, then, can induce you to invite us within to dwell with you?' To which the poor man replied, 'Because your presence, O Goddess, will ever remind me of your sister, and, thinking of her, I shall pay her reverence; this is why I ask you to dwell with me.'

"Kasyapa! even so it is with the Bôdhisatwa Mahâsatwa: he desires not birth even as a God, because birth ever brings with it old age, disease, and death. Whereas foolish men, not knowing the after-grief which comes from these, are ever coveting life which must result in death.

"Again, Kasyapa, we may compare the case to the young child of a Brahman, who, being pressed with hunger,

and seeing a man in the middle of some filth with a mango (amra) in his hand, immediately goes and takes it. This being witnessed by a person of prudence, he chides the boy and says 'You are a Brahman! your caste requires of you purity; how dare you, then, take that dirty fruit from the middle of the filth?' To which the boy replies, red with shame and confusion, 'I indeed was not going to eat it, I was going to wash it clean and put it back on the stalk from which it was taken.' The prudent man then speaks to him thus: 'Foolish boy! even if you were to take it back to its stem, it would never grow.'

"Illustrious disciple! the Bôdhisatwa Mahâsatwa is even thus! He deals thus with this matter of Birth, he neither takes it nor lets it go; and so, like that prudent man who chid the boy, he also chides those pretended philosophers who love life but hate death, and would try to join the fruit once plucked to its parent stem again.

"Again, Kasyapa, the case may be compared to a man seated at the head of four cross ways with a large vessel full of food, of beautiful colour, odour, and taste, desirous to sell it. At this time, a man coming from a distance, being very hungry and famished, seeing this desirable food, so beautiful in colour, and of exquisite odour and taste, coming up to the man, inquires 'What is this?' The merchant replies 'This is very superior food, as you see from its colour and flavour and scent; by eating this you get beauty and strength, you will never hunger or thirst any more, you will be as one of the Gods. It only has one drawback, which is called "impermanency" (life-ending).' The traveller, hearing this, begins to think, 'if I do not avail myself of this chance of getting beauty and strength, and being like a God, at any rate I shall not be subject to death'; and then he addresses the Merchant, 'having eaten this food, and so become subject to death, tell me, I pray you, what real good I shall do myself by buying it?' To whom the merchant replied, 'You are a wise man in declining the purchase. It is only foolish men, who don't know these things, that trade with me, and covet to eat.'

"Illustrious disciple, the case is even so with the Bôdhisatwa Mahâsatwa; he neither desires to be born in Heaven, nor to inherit beauty or strength, nor to be as one of the Gods. And why? Because, with it all, he cannot escape all the sorrows of bodily suffering and mental pain.[1] Whereas the pretended philosophers of the world, foolish and deluded men, follow after modes of life, deeply enamoured of the idea, not remembering that the consequence of Birth must be old age, disease, and death.

"Again, illustrious disciple, we may compare the case to a poisonous tree, the root and branches of which are deadly throughout. Yea, the very flowers and fruit! So, also, is Birth in either of the twenty-five Bhuvanas, where life, dependent on the five skandhas, is enjoyed; all such life is poisonous and deadly as the Tree in question.

"Again, Kasyapa, the case is like a pile of filth, there may be little or much, but the smell of it is equally disgusting. So, illustrious disciple, is the question of Birth, be it we live for 80,000 years, or only for the brief span of ten years; yet is our life nothing but sorrow.

"Again, Kasyapa, we may compare the case to the existence of a deep abyss, above which some foliage is spread; along its side there is growing ambrosial fruit, by tasting which our life may extend to a thousand years, free from all disease, at rest and in the enjoyment of every happiness! The foolish men and pretended philosophers desire, therefore, to taste this fruit, not knowing that beneath there lies a fathomless abyss. They advance, therefore, to pluck it; in a moment their foothold is gone! they are hurled down the chasm and die. But the prudent man, having got knowledge of the place, lets go all desire and hurries from the spot. Illustrious disciple, the case is even thus with the Bôdhisatwa Mahâsatwa; he does not even desire to secure birth in heaven, much less upon earth! Whereas the pretended philosophers risk even birth in Hell, for the hope of birth in Heaven, which after all they may not attain to.

[1] Dukha and daurmanasya, Colebrooke, p. 255.

"Kasyapa, by such comparisons (avidânas) as these, and countless others, we may gather the truth that Birth is an unmitigated sorrow. In this way, therefore, the Bôdhisatwa Mahâsatwa regards the first Sorrow of birth.

"Kasyapa, say then, how does he regard the Sorrow of old age? Now, old age is just that power which suppresses the vital spirits, saps the strength, enfeebles the memory, embitters our joys, and brings every sort of physical weakness and defect with it. Kasyapa, the case may be compared to that of a Lake or Tank of water, in which every kind of beautiful lily grows, the opening petals of which cause the sweetness of the flowers to be diffused everywhere; very desirable and much admired are they! When suddenly the heavens rain down hailstones in torrents and destroy them all!

"Such, illustrious disciple, is old age! Again, Kasyapa, the case may be compared to the King of a country, who has one minister of extreme ability, thoroughly acquainted with the rules of military operations. Against this King one of the neighbouring monarchs rises in rebellion. He will no longer obey, and desires to cast off the yoke. The King forthwith dispatches this wise minister against him, to subdue the rebellion. But, alas! before he reaches the scene of operations, he is himself captured and brought before the King, his Master's enemy. Even so it is with old age; like an enemy it takes captive our strength and our beauty, and drags us into the presence of the Monarch Death.

"Again, Kasyapa, the case may be compared to a chariot whose axle has snapped in two! What further use can such a thing be? Even so with old age, it makes us as cumber in the world.

"Again, Kasyapa, the case may be compared to the house of a rich man. It is filled with every kind of costly ornament and treasure—gold, silver, gems of every kind. But with all this there is a constant dread of thieves, who may enter into the house, carry all off, and leave it empty.

Such is the case with the strength and beauty of man! The thief, old age, is at the door; he will carry all away, and leave us utterly reft of all!

"Again, Kasyapa, the case may be compared to that of a poor man, who covets to possess some delicate food or soft clothing. There it is, placed in his sight, but how to obtain it he knows not. Even so, illustrious disciple, it is with old age; although there be the covetous heart, and the strong desire to participate in the joys of wealth, yet the very desires rob us of the prey, and we cannot obtain it.

"Again, Kasyapa, the case may be compared to that of the Land Tortoise, which in its heart is ever longing for the water! So, illustrious disciple, when a man has been left by old age withered and dry, he ever delights to think of the delights he enjoyed in the days of his beauty and strength.

"Again, Kasyapa, the case may be compared to the Autumn Moon, at which time all the Lilies, and whatever else that should delight the eye and the sense, lie dead and seared. So it is old age sears and withers that in which men delight, beauty and strength.

"Again, Kasyapa, the case may be compared to that of the sweet melon, (?) the outside of which having been eaten, the inside seeds have no flavour or taste. So it is with old age, the years of beauty and strength being passed, there is no longer any pleasurable desire; neither a desire to become a disciple, nor to read the Scriptures, nor to practise meditation.

"Again, Kasyapa, the case may be compared to the full moon, which at night diffuses its splendour in every quarter; but when the day comes, it dies out and is gone. Illustrious disciple, such is the case of man. When young he is graceful and elegant—his form and his face, joyous and beautiful; but when old age comes on, his appearance and his spirit, how withered and gone!

"Again, Kasyapa, the case may be compared to that of a Kingdom, ruled by a Monarch according to the strictest

laws of integrity and justice; the people under reasonable government; and the King given to tender and loving ways. All at once an hostile kingdom invades and breaks up the peaceful government of the first, scatters and destroys all vestiges of right rule. Then the people, seeing what has happened, possessed of a broken heart, exclaim, 'Great King! our day is gone; right rule and government are at an end; there is no help for the people; what a day may produce! that we should have come to this!' Such, illustrious disciple, is the power of old age!

"Again, Kasyapa, the case may be compared to that of a Lamp. So long as the oil lasts, there is light; but when that is exhausted, there is no further power of illumination. Such is the case of man, whilst the vigour of beauty and youth last: then there is strength; but when that is gone, all falls to decay.

"Again, Kasyapa, the case may be compared to a dried-up River, which can be no further profit to man or beast, Asura or winged bird; or to a tree on the steep side of a river, which the first violent wind uproots; or to a broken chariot; or to a new-born child, which disregards the concerns of men. Thus, old age is utterly careless about the matters of men's anxiety. By these and a thousand other comparisons, we may understand the great sorrow of old age. Thus it is the Bôdhisatwa Mahâsatwa regards this sorrow; but let me ask, Kasyapa, how does he regard the sorrow of Disease?

"First of all, it may be compared to the hail which pours down and destroys the crops and the corn; so disease destroys all the elements of comfort and Rest. Again, Kasyapa, it may be compared to the case of a man whose heart is possessed with a constant dread and anxiety about coming evil; or to a man of graceful appearance, who, being unfaithful to his King, in extorting for the gratification of the Queen the contributions of the people, is suddenly discovered, and is blinded in one eye, and one ear cut off, and one hand and foot: how different, then, his appear-

ance and how despised in the eyes of men! Or it may be compared to those various trees which, having produced their seed, perish and die! Or it may be compared to the Chakravarttin, who is ever attended by his great military adviser; or like the fish king, or the ant king, or the snail (?) king, or the ox king; or to the merchant man, who are perpetually surrounded by their followers. So it is the mighty monarch Death is always accompanied by his minister Disease, and they cannot be parted......Thus, and in a thousand other ways, may we illustrate the subject of disease, as it is regarded by the Bôdhisatwa Mahâsatwa!

"But now, Kasyapa, with respect to Death. How is this regarded by the Bôdhisatwa, and to what may it be likened? It is regarded as something which is able to burn up and destroy all else. It is like the Fire at the end of the world, which consumes the universe, leaving only two Dhyâna Heavens undestroyed. Such, illustrious disciple, is the power of Death, able to destroy all things, save the Bodhisatwa, firmly established in the principles of the Great Pari Nirvana of the Great Vehicle (Mahâ yana Mahâparinirvâna).

"Again, Kasyapa, it is like the flood calamity that drowns the universe, save only three Dhyâna Heavens; so, illustrious disciple, Death destroys all, except, etc.

"Again, Kasyapa, it is like the wind calamity, which is able to destroy and scatter all things, root and branch, save the four Dhyâna Heavens; so, etc.

"Again, illustrious disciple, Death is like the golden-winged bird (Garuda), which is able to carry off and feed upon every kind of fish-dragon, and even gold and silver and precious stone, except the diamond, which it cannot digest; such, illustrious one, is the power of Death, able to devour every kind of living creature, except the Bodhisatwa, firmly fixed in the principles of the Mahâyana mahâparinirvana.

"Again, Kasyapa, the case may be compared to a river's bank, along which different trees and shrubs are growing;

suddenly, the river rises, and by its rapid flow carries everything before it into the great Ocean—all except the supple willow, which, by its yielding character, is saved. Illustrious disciple, so all things are carried away into the great sea of Death, except the Bôdhisatwa, etc.

"Again, Kasyapa, the case may be compared to the power of Nârâyana, able completely to subdue and destroy the entire body of champions (Baladêvas?), except the great wind (Râma?), because there is no possibility of crushing *that.* So, illustrious disciple, Death, the great Nârâyana, is able to destroy and take captive every form of living creature, except the Bôdhisatwa, etc.

"Again, Kasyapa, the case is like that of a man who, being in a deadly feud with another, assumes the guise of friendship, yet ever follows and tracks the other, desiring to kill him; he, however, by care and watchfulness, takes every precaution against his foe, and so the wiles of his adversary do not succeed. Illustrious disciple, the great enemy Death thus plots against the life of men and all that breathes, but he cannot effect his object against the Bôdhisatwa, etc.

"Again, Kasyapa, the case may be compared to the sudden fall of a tempestuous rain, which in a moment destroys trees, shrubs, flowers, yea, even gold, silver, and every precious substance, except the true Diamond, etc.

"Again, it may be compared to the Garuda, which can devour all the Nâgas, except those who have taken their refuge in Buddha, the Law, and the Church; so, etc.

"Again, it may be compared to the poisonous serpent of Mâra (or, that poisonous serpent the Devil), against which there is only one charm, viz., the charm of the star A-kie-to; so the poison of Death, which is like that of the scorpion, can only be escaped by the Bôdhisatwa, etc.

"Again, Kasyapa, the case is like that of a man who, having enraged his prince, tries to assuage his anger by smooth words and large presents, and thus escape the consequences of the Prince's wrath. But it is not so with King Death: no words or gifts can conciliate him; no place

is secure from his approach; he walks about night and day; his territory has no bounds; there is no need of light or sun where he reigns; he enters the house without passing through the door; and where he comes there is no escape.

"Illustrious, by these, and a thousand other comparisons, we may exhibit the sorrow called Death, as it is understood by the Bôdhisatwa Mahâsatwa."

[And in a similar way the subject of the other sorrows is exemplified.]

THE CHARACTER OF NIRVÂNA.

3. The question relating to the meaning of the Buddhist Nirvâna, has always been a vexed one. The learned Colebrooke explains it as indicating a profound calm (*Essays*, 258). This may be either the calm of unmixed happiness, or the calm of perfect apathy. The latter idea, as Colebrooke remarks, can hardly differ from eternal sleep. The former, as including the idea of happiness, cannot be a state of apathy. Burnouf, on the other hand, defines Nirvâna, as complete extinction, and illustrates the force of the word by its ideal meaning, "of a fire or lamp gone out" (Introd., 589). This figure of a lamp gone out seems, however, to point more to the extinction of personal or individual Being, than to the extinction of all Being. Professor Max Müller, in his various writings, until recently, has insisted on the correctness of Burnouf's definition; and the opinion of Wassilief is to the same effect.[1] Chinese works generally define Nirvâna as the condition in which there is neither "birth nor death" (wou sang sse). There is another definition frequently met with, viz., silent-extinction (tsih mieh). But as I have stated already, these definitions (which belong to the earliest schools) are neither exact nor comprehensive. It would be considered little to the purpose if we argued from the ideal meaning of the word "Heaven," viz.,

[1] He defines Nirvana (§ 93) as complete annihilation (vollständigen vernichtung). This definition, however, he confines to the earliest period.

something lifted or heaved up, to its generally accepted meaning; and yet, perhaps, we should find it difficult to define what we really understand by the word. Its force must be gathered from the general consent. And so we find that there is a general agreement respecting the Nirvâna of the Buddhists, in their own works, viz., that it signifies a condition of Rest and of Peace. Professor M. Müller has lately expressed a similar opinion. "The popular view of Nirvâna—as representing the entrance of the soul into Rest; a subduing of all wishes and desires; indifference to joy and pain, to good and evil, etc.—was, in my opinion, the conception of Buddha and his disciples" (*Dhammapada*, p. xlv). With reference to this subject, I proceed to quote from the work already named, and which represents the question in its full bearing.[1]

"Again, there was a Brahmatchari called Basita, who resumed the conversation thus: 'Gotama! Is that which you call Nirvâna a permanent state of Being or not? Yes, Brahmatchari. Basita replied, Gotama, then we may not say that Nirvâna consists in the absence of sorrow? Yes, Brahmatchari, it may be so defined. Basita said, Gotama, there are four kinds of condition in the world which are spoken of as non-existent: the first, that which is not as yet in being, like the pitcher to be made out of the clay; secondly, that which, having existed, has been destroyed, as a broken pitcher; third, that which consists in the absence of something different from itself, as we say the ox is not a horse; and, lastly, that which is purely imaginary as the hair of the tortoise, or the horn of the hare. If, then, by having got rid of sorrow we have arrived at Nirvâna, Nirvâna is the same as "nothingness," and may be considered as non-existent; but, if so, how can you define it as permanence, joy, personality, and purity.

"Buddha said, Illustrious disciple, Nirvâna is of this sort, it is not like the pitcher not yet made out of the clay, nor is it like the nothingness of the pitcher which has been broken; nor is it like the horn of the hare, nor the hair of

[1] Extract from the Parinirvâna Sutra. Kiouen xxxix, p. 1.

the tortoise, something purely imaginary. But it may be compared to the nothingness defined as the absence of something different from itself. Illustrious disciple, as you say, although the ox has no quality of the horse in it, you cannot say that the ox does not exist; and though the horse has no quality of the ox in it, you cannot say that the horse does not exist. Nirvâna is just so. In the midst of sorrow there is no Nirvâna, and in Nirvâna there is no sorrow. So we may justly define Nirvâna as that sort of non-existence which consists in the absence of something essentially different from itself.

"Basita replied: Gotama, if this is the character of Nirvâna, viz., that it consists in the absence of something different from itself, then (I will assume that it consists)—in the absence of permanence, joy, personality, and purity—how then, Gotama, can you say that it consists in the possession of these very qualities?

"Buddha said, Illustrious disciple, what you say as to the absence of something different from itself, as constituting non-existence, must be limited by the consideration that there may be a result following this absence of the one in the other that may be just the opposite to non-existence; for example, take the ailments to which men are subject—fever, flatulence, or cold: for the first, ghee is given as a remedy; for the second, oil; for the third, honey. Let me ask you, illustrious disciple, with respect to the flatulence and the oil: the one does not exist in the other, any more than the horse exists in the ox; this, then, is an instance of the third kind of nothingness or non-existence to which you referred. And so with reference to the other medicines; the cold does not exist in the honey, nor the honey in the cold. Well, in the same way, there are three moral diseases—covetousness, aversion, delusion; and for these there are three medicines or cures—1. The perception of impurity; 2. A heart full of love; 3. A knowledge of the nexus of cause and effect. Illustrious disciple, by expelling covetousness, there is produced a non-covetous disposition;

by expelling aversion, there is produced a placable disposition; and by expelling delusion, there is produced an intelligent state of mind. Yet the three diseases do not co-exist in the three medicines, nor *vice versâ*. Illustrious youth, because of this non-existence of the one in the other, we come to speak of permanence, joy, personality, and purity, as the result of the eradication of the disease. Basita said, Tathagata speaks of permanence and non-permanence; but what are these? Buddha replied, Illustrious disciple, matter (Rupa) is impermanent; getting free from this there is permanence; and so, with respect to all the skandhas down to 'manas,' getting rid of these there is permanence. Illustrious disciple, whatever male or female follower of mine is able to realise the impermanence of the five skandhas, he or she has arrived at the condition of permanence. [On which Basita is convinced.]

"Again, there was a Brahmatchari called Sena, who said: Gotama, is there such a thing as 'I'? Tathagata remained silent. Again he said: Gotama, is there no such thing as 'I'? Tathagata remained silent. And so a second and a third time. Sena then said: Gotama, If there is such a thing as 'I,' it is universally diffused, and is a definite unity.[1] Gotama, why are you silent and answer me not? Buddha said: Sêna, do you say that this 'I' is universally diffused? Sena, in reply, said: not only I say so, but all wise men are of the same opinion. Buddha said: Illustrious youth, if this be the case, then surely the whole body of sentient creatures existing in the five conditions of life should at one and the same time be receiving a common recompense; and therefore you, a Brahmatchari, should at one time be suffering in Hell and enjoying the delight of Heaven. Sena replied: Gotama, according to our Law, there are two kinds of 'I'—one a corporal, the other an unchangeable personality; it is with reference only to the first that we say by doing right

[1] Or, it may be translated thus, "if all living creatures have a personal existence, every where diffused, then this is what we may call a definite unity."

it goes to Heaven, and by doing wrong it goes to Hell. Buddha replied: Illustrious youth, with respect to this universally diffused 'I'—what is it? if it is the corporal personality of which you speak, then it is changeable and impermanent? if it is a bodily nonentity, how can it be universally diffused? Sena replied: Gotama, suppose a house were set on fire, and the master escaped, you couldn't say that when the house was burnt the master was burnt; so we say that although this bodily 'I' is not permanent, at the time of its dissolution the true 'I' goes out, and so our conception of personality is both an universally diffused substance and also a permanent one. Buddha said: According to your explanation, this is not possible, for there would be two sorts of universal existence: first, that which never changes; and secondly, that which is subject to change; and again, a material and an immaterial substance. But, in fact, in your figure of the house and the master, there is no connection between the two ideas; the house and master are quite separate and distinct entities, and cannot possibly represent two conditions of the same thing. In point of fact, if your definition is a true one, and the 'I' be a universally diffused existence, then the distinction of father and son, mother and daughter, enemy and friend, etc., all disappear; every sentient existence is one and the same. Sena replied: I do not say that all sentient creatures are the same as the 'I,' but what I say is all men have one individuality. Buddha replied: If this be so, then there must be many individualities (as there are many men), which is impossible, for, as you said before, the 'I' is universally diffused; and, if so, then all creatures must have one common basis of life; and so, whatever experience one class of being has, the same another must have; for, if not, I insist the individuality of which you speak cannot be universal. Sena replied: Gotama, the two things are unlike: you compare all creatures with the 'I' of which I predicated my thesis, but you cannot do so; and I deny that all sentient creatures are thus universally diffused. Buddha replied: But are not all things in common subject

to Karma? Sena replied, Yes. Then in this respect they are all one. What then! the Karma which influences my condition must, on your hypothesis, influence the condition of all creatures, and all must obtain the same reward and return of their actions. Sena replied: There may be a thousand lamps in a house, the wicks all different, but the light they give one; so the 'I' of which we speak is one, but the individuals different. Buddha replied: This will not bear examination, for if these different lamps be placed in different houses, then the illumination is confined to their several limits; but you say the 'I' is a universally diffused existence. And again, when the wick of the lamp has burnt out, the light disappears; but this will not hold good with your comparison, for the 'I' which you compare to the light is permanent. Sena replied: Gotama, you are twisting my comparison unfairly, for I did not say there would be any light if the wick were used out, I only spoke of the light given by the lamp while the wick lasted, and during this time I said the light was like the 'I' of which we are speaking; so that, whether you limit the light to one place or not, I repeat my argument is a just one.—Illustrious youth, your position is altogether false; the comparison is an inadequate one. You say I deal with it unfairly, but in fact it is the result of your own ill-chosen figure, which will not bear examination; you have brought the ruin of your argument on yourself. [And much more to the same effect, after which the argument is resumed.] Sêna rejoined: Gotama, if, as you say, there is no such entity as 'I,' who is it remembers and thinks? Buddha answered Sena: If there is such an entity as 'I,' who is it that forgets? Illustrious youth, if it is the 'I' that remembers, in what way do unwelcome recollections and wicked ones occur to the mind, and how is it the 'I' cannot remember what it wants. Sena again said: Gotama, if there is no 'I,' who is it sees and hears? Buddha said: Illustrious youth, there are six organs of sense (indriyas) and six objects of sense (ayatanas); by the harmonious union of each sense with its object is pro-

duced the six species of knowledge. These various kinds of knowledge owe their several names to a causal concatenation; just as, illustrious youth, we speak of Fire as a unity, but in distinction we speak of a wood-fire, or a grass-fire, or a dung-fire: so, also, are the various sorts of knowledge in the case of different creatures. For instance, because of the eye, and external form (rupa), and light, and desire, we have what we call eye-knowledge. Illustrious youth, this eye-knowledge neither resides as an entity in the eye, nor the form, nor the light, nor the desire, but in the harmonious union of the whole; and so throughout the different categories of ear-knowledge, taste-knowledge, down to mind-knowledge, the case is just the same; every species of knowledge results from the harmonious blending of the different elements from which it results. If this is the case, surely it is wrong to say that 'sight' is the same as 'I,' or that 'touch' is the same as 'I.' Therefore, illustrious youth, my doctrine is this, that these various kinds of knowledge, and all things that exist in the phænomenal world (yé damma) are as unreal as a phantom. And what do I mean by a phantom? Simply that which in itself has no substantial being, but only a present and momentary existence, which, in its turn, will vanish and cease to be. Illustrious youth, we may compare the case to that mixture of milk, wheat, honey, ginger, pepper, legume, peach juice, etc., which, when thoroughly amalgamated, results in the compound known as the agreeable or delightful food-pellet. But remove the intimate union, and where is the agreeable taste? So, remove the external and internal union, in the formation of our several species of knowledge, and there will no longer remain any such entities as 'I,' or 'men,' or 'teachers,' or 'doctors.' Sena rejoined: Gotama, if there is no such thing as 'I,' why do we use such expressions as 'I see,' 'I hear,' 'I am sorry,' 'I am glad,' etc. Buddha replied: Illustrious youth, when we say 'I see,' 'I hear,' etc., that which we call 'I' is a mere name or word; and in this way, just as men say 'I will not see or hear the wicked thing you do or say' where the 'I' is plainly a mere word.

We may compare the case, illustrious youth, to the four species of troops which compose what is called an army (elephants, horses, chariots, infantry). These four species of troops cannot be called 'one,' and yet they say 'our army is strong,' 'our army is victorious'; so it is the union of the external and internal produces that which is called the 'I': and so we say 'I love,' 'I hate,' 'I see,' 'I hear,' etc. Sena rejoined: According to your assertion, Gotama, that knowledge results from the harmonious union of the external and internal, how do you account for the expression, 'I produce a sound by speaking,' and 'I apprehend the sound uttered'; for here there is a separate predication of the 'I.' Buddha said: Sena, from attachment (trishna) and ignorance (avidya), and from the several causes and effects (nidanas) is produced Karma. From Karma results Bhava or separate existence, and from this is produced every kind of mind (or disposition); the mind or disposition produces intellectual perception; this excites the wind (spirit?); the wind, according to the direction of the mind, moves the lips and teeth, etc., and a sound is produced; which all creatures thinking on and misunderstanding, speak of as words, which one says 'I produce,' and another 'I hear.' Illustrious youth, like the bells on the top of a flag send forth a sound as the wind moves them, and this sound is loud or otherwise according as the wind is strong or gentle; or as the water in a pot, when heated by the fire, produces various sounds, so is the utterance of words; but, because the various teachers are not able to discriminate thus, they say there is an 'I' that speaks and an 'I' that hears. Sena rejoined: According to Gotama's opinion, then, that there is no 'I,' let me ask what can be the meaning of that description he gives of Nirvâna, that it is permanent, full of joy, personal, and pure. Buddha said: Illustrious youth, I do not say that the six external and internal organs, or the various species of knowledge, are permanent, etc.; but what I say is that *that* is permanent, full of joy, personal, and pure, which is left after the six organs and the six objects of

sense, and the various kinds of knowledge are all destroyed. Illustrious youth, when the world, weary of sorrow, turns away and separates itself from the cause of all this sorrow, then, by this voluntary rejection of it, there remains that which I call 'the true self'; and it is of this I plainly declare the formula, that it is permanent, full of joy, personal, and pure. Sêna replied: World-honour'd! would that, of your infinite love, you would declare to me how I may arrive at this condition of permanence, etc. Then Buddha replied: Illustrious youth, because from the beginning men have indulged in proud and supercilious thoughts, this evil root has grown and produced every kind of evil fruit; so that men cannot put away from them the succession of sorrows, nor obtain the condition of permanence, etc. Let them first, then, overcome and destroy this root of pride. Sena replied: True! true! world-honour'd one! your teaching is holy: I have, up to this time, been proud and supercilious, and therefore have contemptuously called Tathâgata by his familiar name of Gotama; but now I have removed this pride, and desire earnestly to learn the way to the condition of which you speak. Buddha said: Illustrious youth, examine and listen! examine and listen! I will tell you the way, illustrious youth, if you are able to remove the ideas of self and not-self, and the idea of all sentient creatures, by removing all ideas of this kind.—Sena (interrupting) exclaimed: Already I have found deliverance and received sight (the eyes of the True Law). Buddha said: Illustrious youth, what is this you say, that you have already obtained knowledge and deliverance, and received sight? World-honour'd one, that which is called rupa (form) is neither self, or not-self, nor all things; that which we call sanjnyá, and vedana, and sanscara, and vijnyâna—all these are neither self or not self, or all things. So, I perceive that I have received sight, world-honour'd one. Now, with the greatest joy I leave my house and family, and apply myself to wisdom. Would that you would receive me as a disciple! Buddha replied: Well come! O Bikshu! And so he obtained the fruit (condition) of an Arhat.

"Again, among the heretics, there was a Brahmatchari whose family name was Kâsyapa (belonging to Kasyapa), who once more addressed Buddha thus: Gotama, is the body the same as the Life, or different? Tathâgata remained silent. And so a second and third time. The Brahmatchari then continued: Gotama, if, in the interval after giving up the body, and not assuming another, the life be not extinct, then I contend the body and the life are different things. Gotama, why are you silent? why do you not answer me? Illustrious youth, what I say is this: that both body and life are the result of causal concatenation, and I deny that any phænomenal existence is independent of the same connection. The Brahmatchari rejoined: Gotama, I see in the world phænomena (laws) not resulting from cause. Buddha said: Brahmatchari, what are the phænomena you refer to? The Brahmatchari replied: I see a great fire, consisting of burning brushwood and logs; the wind blows the flame and extinguishes it, where the flame was before there is now nothing—why may not this be spoken of as 'without cause'? Buddha said: Illustrious youth, I declare that this fire is produced by cause, I deny that it is uncaused. The Brahmatchari replied: Gotama, when the bright shining light goes out and is extinguished, it produces no effect, the wood is left uncharred; what, then, mean you by saying that there was any cause here, operating in the way of the concatenation you name? Buddha said: Illustrious youth, although there may be no charcoal produced, because the wood extinguished the fire, this does not destroy my argument that there is a connection of cause and result. Gotama, suppose a man cast off his body, and has not yet resumed another, in the intervening years of existence where is the connexion of cause and effect? Brahmatchari, said Buddha, the cause and effect is found in ignorance (avidya) and desire (trishna?). Because of these two, life remains fixed; illustrious youth, because of this connexion of cause and effect, the body and the life are one; and because of this same connexion, the body and

the life are different. The wise man ought not to confine himself to one view of a case, and to say that the body and the life are always different. The Brahmatchari said: World-honour'd one! Would that you would distinguish and explain this paradox, and cause me thoroughly to understand the character of this cause and effect. Buddha said: Brahmatchari, the cause (of phænomenal existence) is to be found in the five constituents of the body (panchaskandhas), and the effect or result (fruit) is to be sought in the same constituents. Illustrious youth! If, in the case of sentient creatures, there were no kindling of the fire, then, I say, there would be no smoke. The Brahmatchari said: World-honour'd one! I have acquired knowledge! I have gained light! Buddha said: Illustrious youth! Say! what is it you know? what is it you see? World-honour'd one! the fire is the same as the existence of sorrow, which leads to birth in the five ways: the smoke, also, is the consequence of this sorrow—impermanence and impurity (anâtman)—offensive to the sight and smell, mischievous and hurtful, and therefore called 'smoke.' But cutting away the root of sorrow, then all sentient creatures will escape the results of which I speak; and this is just what Tathâgata says: 'Kindle not the fire, and there will be no offensive smoke.' World-honour'd one! as I have thus obtained true sight, would that your love would receive me as a disciple, etc.

"Again, among the heretics was a Brahmatchari called Purna, who spoke thus: Gotama! according to your view, is the world itself permanent, so that it can be spoken of as such: is it true or empty; constant or mutable, or both, or neither; boundless or terminable; or not terminable and yet not boundless; body and life; the same or different. Tathagata, after his Nirvâna, is he completely gone or not? or both? or neither? Buddha replied: Pourna, I do not say the world is constant, or empty, or true, or in any other way you have indicated. Pourna replied: But on what account do you refuse to adopt these expressions? Buddha said: Pourna, if there is a man who says the world is constant, who considers this to be the truth, and rejects the

assertions of others as false—all this is mere speculation, which leads from one step to another, till the man utterly forgets the one great task of getting rid of old age, and birth, and disease, and death; he remains involved in the six conditions of transmigration, participating in every kind of sorrow; and just so with regard to the other questions you have proposed, they are all speculative, and therefore unprofitable. This is the fault, Purna, I see in these queries, and so I will have nothing to do with them. Gotama, if you thus regard these questions, and refuse to consider them, may I ask what it is that you declare to be worth consideration? Pourna, what I consider worth considering is the question of Life and Death. And it is because Tathâgata has put away and freed himself from Life and Death, therefore he entangles himself with no such questions as those you have proposed; but such things as Tathâgata deals with are not these mere entanglements. Gotama, what then do you deal with and speak upon? Illustrious youth! what I deal with are the questions of sorrow, accumulation, extinction, the way (or the accumulation of sorrow and the plan of extinction). I explain and analyse these truths: here is my field of speculation; therefore I exclude and ignore all other questions, all preferences, or questions about transmigration, or idle and vain questions. I devote myself wholly to moral culture, so as to arrive at the highest condition of Moral Rest (the highest Nirvâna), aiming solely to obtain the unchangeable body, which has no bounds or limits (neither East, West, South, or North). Pourna said: Gotama, by what series of cause and effect is this constant and unchangeable body thus without limits and bounds produced? Buddha said: Illustrious youth! I will ask you, and do you reply honestly, What is your opinion, illustrious youth, when a great fire is kindled in your sight, at the time of its being thus kindled, do you know of its being so or not? Certainly, Gotama, I do. And at the time of the fire going out, are you aware of it or not? Certainly, Gotama, I am. Pourna, if a man were to

ask you where the fire was brought from that burns before you, and where it goes to when it is put out, what would you answer? Gotama, in reply to such a question, I should say, at the time when the fire was first produced, that it depended on various concurrent circumstances, and that when these circumstances were in abeyance and the fuel expended, that then the fire went out. But if any one asked you where the fire went to when it died out, what would you say? Gotama, I should reply, that the circumstances which led to its origin operating no longer, the fire had gone out, and had really gone nowhere.

"Illustrious youth! Tathâgata speaks exactly so as to the impermanence of the various constituents of body (viz., the skandhas): he says, the cause of all is attachment, this is the occasion of the fire; but when once the fire has been kindled, and the sensible world (the twenty-five bhuvanas) originated, it cannot be said that the origin is from the North or South, or East or West; and just so with the destruction and extinction of the fire. Illustrious youth! because Tathâgata has entirely got rid of the subjects of impermanence composing the body, therefore his body is permanent, and therefore boundless. Pourna said: I have a comparison to propose: may I state it? Buddha said: Good! good! speak as you please. World-honour'd one! as if outside a village there was a grove of Sala trees, in the midst of which is one tree, older by a hundred years than any in the grove, about which the owner of the property is peculiarly anxious; he waters it and uses every timely precaution to preserve it; so that, although the tree is outwardly rotten, its bark and branches and leaves all gone, there is a strong principle of vitality in it yet. Thus, also, I regard Tathâgata; all outward appearances gone, there is left only that one true principle of life, which exists independently of all external phænomena. World-honour'd one! I now rejoice to become thy disciple, etc.

"Again, there was a Brahmatchari called Tsing-tsing,[1]

[1] Vimala (?)

who said: Gotama, in ignorance of what Law is it that men speculate concerning permanence and non-permanence, etc.? Buddha replied: Illustrious youth! because men do not understand the character of the five skandhas, they use such speculations. The Brahmatchari replied: And the knowledge of what Law is it that puts an end to such questions? Buddha replied: The knowledge of the five skandhas. The Brahmatchari replied: Would that the world-honour'd one would explain and discriminate on my account this question of permanence and non-permanence. Buddha said: Illustrious youth! if a man let go his hold on the world, so as to store up no further works (karma), this man will understand the character of permanence and non-permanence. The Brahmatchari replied: World-honour'd one! I have gained knowledge! I have received sight! Buddha replied: What is it you know and see? He rejoined: I see that from what is called ignorance (avidya) and attachment (trishna) are produced the results of effort (upadana) and condition (bhava). If men would but reject and put away the attachment and the ignorance, then there would be neither effort nor condition of merit nor demerit, and then men would know the true meaning of permanence and non-permanence. Thus have I gained true knowledge and light, and adore the three precious gems, etc.

"Again, there was a Brahmatchari called Vatsa putra (tuh tse), who spoke thus: Gotama, I desire to ask you some questions: will you hear me? Tathâgata remained silent; and so a second and third time. Then Vatsa putra continued: Gotama, I have for a long time had a close friendship with you,[1] and our opinions are in general alike. Why, then, do you refuse to answer me, desiring to interrogate you? Then the world-honour'd one reflected, and at last replied: Vatsa putra, it is well! it is well! ask me what you please respecting your doubts, and I will freely

[1] If this Vatsa be the same as the one alluded to by Wassilief, it would appear that he had been a disciple, but was condemned for holding heretical views (*Bouddisme*, § 57.)

answer you. Then Vatsa putra said: Gotama, is there a good man (or virtue) in the world? Yes, Brahmatchari. And is there that which is not good? Yes, Brahmatchari. Gotama, I ask you to give me some rule to know the law of virtue and the law of evil. Buddha said: Illustrious youth! there is much to be said on this subject, but for your sake I will briefly expound it. Illustrious youth! desire is the source of evil. Those who cast off desire, these are called good. And so with reference to anger and delusion. So, again, 'murder' is evil; and he who kills not is good. And so through all the list of sinful actions, down to 'heresy,' all these are evil. Thus, illustrious youth, I have declared for your sake the threefold character of virtue and vice (*i. e.*, rejecting desire, anger, aversion), and the tenfold character (*i. e.*, avoiding the ten crimes forbidden by the commandments); and I repeat, whoever is able to cast away covetous desire, anger, delusion, and all other sources of moral defect (leaks), and to separate himself from all mundane influences—this man is virtuous. The Brahmatchari rejoined: And, Gotama, is there one Bikshu in all the company of your followers who has arrived at this condition of virtue? Buddha replied: Illustrious youth! not one only, nor two nor three, but countless numbers of such proficients. [And so he asks if there is a Bikshuni, a Upâsaka, or Upâsikâ who has arrived at this perfection, and receives similar answers.] Vatsa then replied: World-honour'd one! may I use a comparison? Certainly, illustrious youth, as your heart prompts you. World-honour'd one! just as the Nâga Râjah Nândaupananda sheds down the rain equally, so Tathâgata sheds down the rain of the Law, on all alike, justly and without preference. World-honour'd one! suppose the class of heretics desire to become converts, what directions does Tathâgata give as to the proper time for such profession. Buddha said: Illustrious youth! either of the four mouths (of the Varsha or Wass season), without any preference, is fit for such profession. World-honour'd one! if so, oh! would that I might now become a disciple

etc. At this time the world-honour'd one spoke thus to Kaundinya: Receive this Vatsa putra as a disciple, and deliver to him the five Rules of the lay-disciple. Then Kaundinya, according to Buddha's directions, gave directions, in the midst of the congregation, that there should be a public assembly (sangha-kamma, vide *Lotus*, 437), whilst Vatsa, fifteen days after his profession of faith, arrived at the condition of a Srotâpânna. After this, Vatsa thought thus with himself: If I have indeed attained Supreme Wisdom, I have attained it from the instruction of Buddha; it behoves me, therefore, to see him at once. Immediately going into his presence, he worshipped him prostrate on the ground, and having completed his act of reverence, he remained fixed with unmoved countenance.[1] Then he asked Buddha, saying, World-honour'd one! having attained to my present condition of enlightenment, I further pray that Buddha would instruct me how to reach the supreme condition of unsurpassed wisdom. Buddha said: Illustrious youth! diligently and earnestly striving after the condition of Samata (Repose) and that of Vipasina (clear sight), then you may advance through every stage of mental advancement, until you arrive at the condition of Buddha himself. Vatsa having heard this, worshipped and departed, and taking up his residence in the Sala grove, practised these two rules of Samata and Vipasina, and thus in a short time arrived at the condition of a Rahat. At this time there were countless Bikshus desirous to go to the place where Buddha was. Vatsa then asked them:[2] Virtuous ones, where go ye? To the place where Buddha is, they replied. Vatsa continued: If, virtuous ones, ye arrive there, let it be known that Vatsa, having perfected him-

[1] This a very curious, though a very common phrase; the original is "chu yih min." It is translated from the Sanscrit by Burnouf, "he remained in a place apart by himself." (*Lotus*, p. 272, line 11.) This rendering is confirmed by Spiegel in the *Kammavakya* (p. 1, Lat. vers., line 8).

[2] Pali, Bhante.

self in the two rules, has obtained supreme wisdom, and now, thanks to Buddha, is about to enter Pari-Nirvâna. Then all those Bikshus, coming into the presence of Buddha, spoke thus: World-honour'd one! Vatsa putra, the Brahmatchari, by practising the two Laws, has obtained Supreme Wisdom, desires to return his grateful thanks to Buddha, ere he enters the final Nirvana. Buddha replied: Illustrious youths! Vatsa putra having obtained the condition of a Rahat, ye ought all to go and pay worship to his body. Then the Bikshus, thus commissioned, returned to the place of his decease, and paid his body every reverence."

THE SUTRA OF FORTY-TWO SECTIONS.

4. The numerous works which are preserved in the Buddhist Canon are classed under three divisions or collections, viz.: Works on discipline (Vinaya); Dogmatic works (Sûtras); Liturgical and philosophical works (abhidarma). Of these, the first alone can have any claim to authenticity, as embodying the teaching of Buddha. M. Wassilief has stated broadly that Buddha himself left behind him no written document, nor did he preach any other doctrine but the one we have already named, *i. e.*, the vanity of all that belongs to the world.[1] But, doubtless, he established certain rules for the conduct of his followers, and enunciated certain broad principles for their instruction and guidance. Some of these are embodied in the Gâthas already quoted, others are found scattered throughout the immense literature which, having been written at a date long posterior to the death of the founder of the Religion, has been attributed to him, as representing the principles and the discipline he recommended in his lifetime. There is the Dhammapada, for example, a work found in the Southern Canon, and belonging to the Sûtra-pitaka, or collection of works on dogma, which, without having any claim to a remote antiquity in

[1] *Buddhisme*, p. 90.

its present form,[1] yet doubtless embodies the essence of Buddha's teaching. Its very title, *Footsteps of the Law*, or, as we might say, *Vestiges of Religious Doctrine*, seems to imply that its authority is merely that of a late compilation; and yet it is classed among the Sûtras, which, theoretically at least, were delivered by Ananda immediately after Buddha's death. With respect to the age when this and similar compilations were reduced to a written form, there is evidence to be found in various quarters. With respect to the Dhammapada, the question of age has been considered in an exhaustive manner in the English edition of that work by Prof. Max Müller (pp. xvi-xvii). But we have positive proof in China that works of this character were found in a written form as early, at least, as the beginning of our own æra. The Sûtra named the "Forty-two Sections," which is of a purely ethical character, was brought to China in its present form about A.D. 70. This fact can admit of no dispute, for it is recorded in the annals of the country, and a temple was built in memory of it, an account of which is given at large in a well known and authentic work, called the *History of the Lo Yang Temples.* It is only reasonable, then, to suppose, if this work were so well known in India at the time of the first Chinese embassy, viz., 64 A.D., as to be thought the most proper for translation, in order to exhibit the doctrines of the religion about to be introduced into the country, that it was reduced to the written form in India at an earlier period; and therefore we cannot be far wrong if we give it an age at least as great as the beginning of the Christian æra. But, in the first section of this work, the existence of the 250 Rules of the Pratimôksha,[2] or the Rules of Conventual Discipline, is plainly referred to; so that we must assume that these Rules were well known and generally accepted at the time of the composition of the

[1] Spence Hardy speaks of its recent origin. *Theories and Legends*, p. xl.

[2] Prof. Max Müller has shown also that the Dhammapada speaks of the Pratimôksha as an old established code. Dhammapada, § 185, n.

Sûtra; and we are thus carried back to a still earlier date for the reduction of these Rules to their present number and form. Without, therefore, having positive evidence as to the age of these works, we are not left without some limits, later than which they cannot be placed. This is so far satisfactory, that it settles the question as to an intermixture of doctrine resulting from intercourse with Christian people. There can be little doubt that the morality of Buddhism and its Monastic Rules are of independent origin, and therefore offer a clear field for the investigation of the question as to how far the Human Mind is capable of advancing in the search after Truth and practice of Virtue by its own unaided power.

I shall proceed, in pursuance of my plan, to translate the two works I have named, that is to say, the Sûtra of the Forty-two Sections[1] and the Pratimôksha, as bearing on the question of Buddhism as a Religious Belief.

"Now it came to pass, when the worshipful Buddha had arrived at the condition of complete enlightenment, he thought thus with himself: 'The perfect Rest, which results from the extinction of Desire, this is the highest conquest of self. To remain fixed in Religious reverie, this is to conquer the Devil.' So at once he began to preach in the Deer Park for the salvation of men (all living), and particularly for the sake of Kaundinya and his companions, the five men, he preached on the subject of the four great Truths, and thus brought them deliverance. At this time, moreover, there were certain Bikshus who conversed on various subjects that caused them difficulty (doubt), and who requested Buddha to explain them with a view to their being set at Rest, on which the Worshipful one began to

[1] For an account of the Dream of Ming-Ti, which led to the introduction of Buddhism into China, and the translation of the work named in the text, vide *Journal of the R.A.S.*, vol. xix, part 3. I may here add that M. Julien has expressed an opinion as to the origin of the title of this Sûtra (*Mémoires de Hiouen-Thsang*, III, 59, n).

teach them and explain their difficulties one by one, and to open their understanding; whilst they, with closed hands, reverently replied to his questions, and followed their Master's directions. At this time it was that the Worshipful Buddha himself delivered this exact Sûtra of forty-two divisions.

1. Buddha said: The man who leaves his parents and quits his home for the sake of Religion; who understands his own heart, and penetrates to the hidden motive of his life; and is able to exhibit (in himself) the Law that admits of no selfish consideration[1]—this man is rightly called a Shaman. Such an one—continuing in the 250 Rules, and persevering in the four straight paths, aspiring after a condition of mental Rest and Purity—he shall attain to the state of a Rahat.

2. Buddha said: The Rahat is able to fly through the air,[2] change his appearance, fix the years of his life, shake heaven and earth. The successive stages towards this condition of Being are—The Anâgâmin, who, at the expiration of his life (years), ascends in a spiritual form to the nineteen heavens, and in one of those completes his destiny, by becoming a Rahat. Next is the condition of a Sakradagamin, in which, after one birth and death, a man becomes a Rahat. Next, the condition of a Srotâpânna, in which, after seven births and deaths, a man becomes a Rahat. These are they who, having entirely separated themselves from all

[1] The original phrase "wou wei" is of very frequent occurrence in Chinese Buddhist books; it is translated by Mr. Edkins as "non-action" (*Phœnix*, No. 2, p. 13); and he confirms his view by comparing the expression with the Mongol and Manchu rendering of the passage; it seems to me, however, that we must take "weî" as the substantive verb, and regard it as equivalent to the Sanscrit "asmîtâ," "selfishness," or "I-am-ness" (vide *Vishnu Purana*, p. 34, n). It also corresponds to the expression anupâdiyâno of the Dhammapada, which Prof. Max Muller construes "caring for nothing in this world." Dhammapada, § 20, n.

[2] Compare Cudworth's account of the passage in the Gemara of the Sanhedrim. *Intellectual System*, II, 797; also F. Spiegel's *Kammavakya*, p. 39, line 1.

Desire and Lust, are like branches of a tree cut off and dead.

3. Buddha said: The Shaman who has left his home, banished Desire, expelled Love, fathomed the bottom of his own heart, penetrated the deep principle of Universal Mind (Buddha), understood the principle that there is no subjective personal existence, or objective aim in life, or result to be obtained, whose heart is neither hampered by the practice of Religion or fettered by the bonds of life, without anxious thought, without active endeavour, without careful preparation, without successful accomplishment, attaining the highest possible point of true Being, without passing through any successive and distinct stages of progress—this is, indeed, "to be Religious" (or to attain or practise Bôdhi, *i. e.*, Supreme Reason).

4. Buddha said: He who receives the Tonsure[1] and becomes a Shaman (or in order to be a Shaman), and accepts the Law of Buddha, must forego all worldly wealth, must beg whatever he requires, take one meal in the middle of the day, live under a tree, and be concerned for nothing more. Lust and concupiscence are the sole causes of all the folly and confusion in the world.

5. Buddha said: Living creatures become good by ten things, and by ten things become evil. What are these ten things? Three of them belong to the body; four to the speech; three to the thoughts. Murder, theft, lust, are the first three. Equivocation, slandering, lying, and flattery are the four. Envy, anger, and delusion are the three. Absence of belief in the three objects of worship is the highroad to error. The Upasaka, practising the five Rules,[2] and not drawing back in his aim to observe the ten Rules[3] —this man will obtain Perfection (Bôdhi).

[1] It would seem from the Sanchi Sculptures (compare e. g. plate xxxi. fig. 2) that the tonsure was not a primitive institution of Buddhism.

[2] Not to kill; not to steal; not to commit adultery; not to lie; not to use intoxicating drink.

[3] In addition to the above, not to eat after mid-day; not to attend

6. Buddha said: A man guilty of every kind of disobedience, and not purging himself by repentance, confirms himself in his wickedness, and must certainly return to life in a bodily shape, even as the water returns to the sea; but yet, by acting up to his duty, and getting rid of his evil ways, understanding the character of sin, and avoiding disobedience, and so attaining to virtue—this man, when his day of punishment is over, may afterwards attain to supreme Reason (perfection).

7. Buddha said: a man who foolishly does me wrong (or, regards me as being, or doing, wrong), I will return to him the protection of my ungrudging love;[1] the more evil comes from him, the more good shall go from me; the fragrance of these good actions, always redounding to me, the harm of the slanderer's words returning to him. There was a foolish man once heard Buddha, whilst preaching, defend this great principle of returning good for evil, and therefore he came and abused Buddha. Buddha was silent, and would not answer him, pitying his mad folly. The man having finished his abuse, Buddha asked him, saying: "Son, when a man forgets the rules of politeness in making a present to another, the custom is to say: 'Keep your present'.[2] Son! you have now railed at me! I decline to entertain your abuse! and request you to keep it; a source of misery to yourself. For as sound belongs to the drum, and shadow to the substance, so in the end misery will certainly overtake the evil doer."

8. Buddha said: A wicked man who reproaches a virtuous one, is like one who looks up and spits at Heaven; the spittle soils not the Heaven, but comes back and defiles his

dancing parties or theatres; not to use perfumes or unguents; not to seek high seats or couches when in company; not to covet or possess gold or silver or jewels. Vide *M. B.*, 24, and *Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. 59, n.

[1] The "sse tang t'se" of the original are the "four elements of benevolence," and are explained by Burnouf, *Lotus*, 405. They are enumerated also in the *Lalita Vistara* (Foucaux), p. 51.

[2] For the use of "Kwai" in this sense, vide *Confucian Analects*, xvii, l. i, and xviii, 4.

own person. So again, he is like one who flings dirt at another, when the wind is contrary, the dirt does but return on him who threw it. The virtuous man cannot be hurt, the misery that the other would inflict comes back on himself.

9. Buddha said: A man, in the practice of Religion, who exercises charity from a feeling of necessary obligation, or from a feeling of partiality, does not obtain much merit. But he who is charitable, and at the same time guards his motive in respectful deference to the principles of Religion, this man's merit will be very great. And when one sees a man giving anything in charity, and rejoices at it on the ground that he is thus advancing the cause of Religion, he also shall obtain merit. Not that the merit of the first is less, but on the principle of many men lighting their fires from one torch, they do not diminish the light from which they take their fire, so is it with this question of merit.

10. Buddha said: To feed crowds by the hundred is not to be compared to the act of feeding one really good man; to feed good men by the thousand, is not to be compared to the act of feeding one lay-disciple, (or a Samanêra, who has taken a vow to observe the five Rules); to feed such persons by the myriad is not to be compared to the act of feeding one Srotâpânna; to feed such persons by the million is not like feeding one Sakradâgâmin; to feed such by the ten million is not like feeding one Anâgâmin; to feed such persons by the ten myriads[1] is not like feeding one Rahat; to feed such by the hundred myriads is not like feeding one Pratyêka Buddha: to feed such by the thousand myriad is not like feeding one Buddha, and learning to pray to him from a desire to save all living creatures. To feed one good man however, is infinitely greater in point of merit, than attending to questions about Heaven and earth, spirits and

[1] This shows how loose the number known as one "Yih" is; it ought to be "by the hundred million," according to the natural order of progression. Vide p. 104 of this work.

demons, such as occupy ordinary men. These matters are not to be compared to the religious duty we owe to our parents. Our parents are very Divine.

11. Buddha said: There are twenty difficult things in the world—being poor to be charitable; being rich and great; to be religious; to escape destiny[1]; to get sight of the Scriptures;[2] to be born when a Buddha is in the world; to repress lust and banish desire; to see an agreeable object and not seek to obtain it; to be strong without being rash;[3] to bear insult without anger; to move in the world (to touch things) without setting the heart on it; to investigate a matter to the very bottom; not to contemn the ignorant; thoroughly to extirpate self-esteem; to be good and at the same time to be learned and clever; to see the hidden principle in the profession of Religion; to attain one's end without exultation; to exhibit in a right way the doctrine of expediency;[4] to save men by converting them; to be the same in heart and life; to avoid controversy.

12. There was a Shaman who asked Buddha, by what influences does a man acquire reason, (or, become enlightened), and by doing what may a man know his previous modes of existence?[5] Buddha said: Reason has no form or characteristics by which it may be known; there is no profit in such inquiries. The man who wishes to acquire this knowledge should guard his powers of will, and his conduct.—You may compare it to the act of rubbing a mirror, and removing the dust; the lustre of the mirror is thus preserved, and you see at once its self-included

[1] Literally, sentenced by destiny, not to die.

[2] Sûtras of Buddha.

[3] Or, it may be, "having power, not to be proud."

[4] The expression "fang-pien" is explained by Julien (II, XVI, n.) as equivalent to the "doctrine of Buddha," in which sense the passage in the text would signify "to exhibit by a virtuous life the doctrine of Buddha." But the phrase has a very wide meaning; it is translated from the Sanscrit by Burnouf "habilité dans l'emploi des moyens" (*Lotus*, cap. ii).

[5] Or, it may be, "know (how long) he shall sojourn in life."

character.[1] So if you banish lust and keep yourself free (empty) (from pollution), you will at once obtain enlightenment, and straightway know your ultimate (or previous) destiny.

13. Buddha said: Who is the good man? The religious man only is good. And what is goodness? First and foremost it is the agreement of the will with the conscience (Reason). Who is the great man? He who is strongest in the exercise of patience. He who patiently endures injury, and maintains a blameless life—he is a man indeed! And who is a worshipful man (*i. e.*, a man deserving reverence or worship (or, a Buddha)? A man whose heart has arrived at the highest degree of enlightenment. All dust removed, all wicked actions uprooted, all within calm and pure, without any blemish, who is acquainted with all things from first to last—and even with those things that have not yet transpired—who knows and sees and hears all things—such universal wisdom is rightly called "illumination."

14. Buddha said: A man who cherishes lust and desire, and does not aim after (see) supreme knowledge, is like a vase of dirty water, in which all sorts of beautiful objects are placed—the water being shaken up men can see nothing of the objects therein placed; so it is lust and desire, causing confusion and disorder in the heart, are like the mud in the water; they prevent our seeing the beauty of supreme reason (Religion). But if a man, by the gradual process of confession and penance, comes near to the acquirement of knowledge, then the mud in the water being removed, all is clear and pure—remove the pollution and immediately of itself comes forth the substantial form. So also when a fire is placed under a pot, and the water within it made to boil, then whoever looks down upon it will see no shadow of himself. So the three poisons which rage within the heart[2], and the five obscurities[3] which embrace it,

[1] This is probably the meaning of the text.

[2] The three poisons are covetousness, anger, delusion.

[3] The five obscurities are envy, passion, sloth, vacillation, unbelief.

effectually prevent one attaining (seeing) supreme reason. But once get rid of the pollution of the wicked heart, and then we perceive the spiritual portion of ourselves which we have had from the first, although involved in the net of life and death—gladly then we mount to the Paradise (lands) of all the Buddhas, where reason and virtue continually abide.

15. Buddha said: A man who devotes himself to Religion is like a man who takes a lighted torch into a dark house; the darkness is at once dissipated, and there is light! Once persevere in the search after wisdom, and obtain knowledge of truth—error and delusion entirely rooted out—oh! what perfect illumination will there be!

16. Buddha said: In reflection, in life, in conversation, in study, I never for a moment forget the supreme end, Religion (Reason).

17. Buddha said: Let one behold heaven and earth, and think, "these are impermanent"—and so the mountains and rivers, all impermanent! the varied forms of life and the productions of nature, all destined to terminate and perish! Attaining to this condition of mind, in a moment there will be illumination (Reason).

18. Buddha said: Throughout an entire day's conduct to keep the thoughts steadily on Religion (Reason), and from this religious conduct to realise a deep principle of Faith; this indeed is blessedness without measure!

19. Buddha said: Never tire of self-reflection; the four constituents (elements) in your body are merely names, and therefore without any personal reality. That which one calls "self" is but a passing guest, and its concerns all like the mirage of the desert.

20. Buddha said: A man following the bent of his carnal desires, does in fact search after so many painted names (nicknames), and his case may be compared to the burning incense, the fragrance of which all men perceive, but in its burning it is self-consumed; so the foolish man, coveting the toys (names) of passing life, and not looking after his

religious interests (reason), has to endure the misery of a vain search, and the repentance which must come afterwards.

21. Buddha said : A man who rudely grasps after wealth or pleasure, is like a little child coveting honey cut with a knife; scarcely has he had one taste of its sweetness, before he perceives the pain of his wounded tongue.

22. Buddha said: A man bound by the silken cords of Love (relating to women and children) endures misery greater than that caused by the chains and bonds of the infernal lictors; for these have a cause and a termination; but the sensual passions, though entailing the misery of the tiger's mouth (*i. e.* perdition) are yet so sweet that the heart ever clings to the recollection of them. What reprieve, then, can there be to the punishment which ensues?

23. Buddha said: Of all the lusts and desires, there is none so powerful as sexual inclination. This is so strong that there is no other worth speaking of beyond it. Suppose there were two of the same character, then under the whole heaven no flesh could be saved, (or, be in possession of reason).

24. Buddha said: Lust and desire, in respect of a man, are like a person who takes a lighted torch and runs with it against the wind. Foolish man! not letting go the torch you must needs have the pain of a burnt hand—and so with respect to the poison of covetousness, lust, anger, envy, folly, and unbelief, these dwelling in a man, and not soon eradicated by the use of reason (Religion), the misery to the person concerned will be just like the self-inflicted pain on the hand of the foolish man bearing the torch.

25. A Dêva once offered a woman of pleasure to Buddha, desiring to try his inclination, and so have proof of his religious principles (reason). Buddha said: "Every dung cart (weed bag) carries its own filth, but how comes it that *you* occupy yourself with such lewd (common) devices as these? It is difficult to excite one to the commission of such deeds, whose very condition of entire disuse prevents

any such gratification." The Dêva overpowered with awe on this asked Buddha to explain the principle of his Religion, on which Buddha entered on an inquiry which led to the conversion of the Déva and his arriving at the position of a Srotâpânna.

26. Buddha said: Religious persons are like the wood that floats down the running stream of water, touching neither the left nor the right bank; not concerning themselves with worldly matters, nor yet with those hidden things which relate to the worship of spirits; nor yet standing still to rot in the middle of the revolving eddies, such persons I undertake shall enter the ocean. Men, engaged in religious exercises, not indulging the deceitful pleasures of sense, nor engrossed by the vain speculations of the different heretical schools; earnestly progressing in the practice of true religion, without any unbelief or doubt, such men I declare shall be saved, (obtain reason).

27. Buddha addressed a Shaman thus: 'Watch against unbelief! You think and you keep thinking! and yet in the end you cannot believe. Instead of this, however, be anxiously careful to keep away from worldly associations, which indeed are the true origin of misery, and occupy yourself with the thought, 'when I am a Rahat then I shall believe."

28. Buddha addressed all the Shamans—'Guard against looking on a woman. If you see one let it be as though you saw her not, and be sure to have no conversation with her. But if you must needs speak to her, let it be with pure heart and upright conduct. Say to yourself—'I am a Shaman, placed in this sinful world, let me be then as the spotless lily, unsoiled by the mud in which it grows.' Is she old? regard her as your mother. Is she honorable? regard her as your sister. Is she of small account? regard her as a younger sister. Is she a child? treat her reverently and with politeness. Above all consider well with yourself this truth, that you only see the external person (from head to foot), but if you could only see within that body what

vileness and impurity! persevere in such reflections as these, and your evil thoughts will disappear."

29. Buddha said: A religious man, banishing sensual desires, ought to regard them as stubble, ready to be burned when the great fire comes at the end of the Kalpa. The religious man regarding lust and desire in this light will, perforce, put them away from him.[1]

30. Buddha said: A man (once) had grief because his lusts could not be appeased, and so he seated himself on some sharp knives, in order to free himself from the cause of his sin. Buddha addressed him and said: 'If you succeed in getting rid of the external cause, this is not to be compared to getting rid of the lustful inclination. The heart is the busy contriver of these lusts; compose the heart, and these evil thoughts will all be still. But if the wicked heart be not set at rest, what benefit will self-mutilation bring?' Presently, on his death, Buddha said: 'So it is men commonly think! even as this deluded man!'

31. A certain lewd maiden had made an engagement to meet a man. At the appointed time she came not; on which he repented of his sin, and said: 'Lust! I know you! You are but the offspring of my own thoughts! Let me but stifle these thoughts, and at once I prevent you from being born!' Buddha going along the road, and hearing him speak thus, addressed the Shamans and said: 'I remember this as one of the verses of Kasyapa Tathâgata, gone abroad into the world.' Buddha said: 'A man from lust and desire engenders sorrow, and from sorrow comes a guilty fear. Banish lust and there will be no sorrow, and if there is no sorrow (or, dejection), there will be no guilty fear.'[2]

32. Buddha said: A man who is under the influence of religious principle may be compared to a single warrior opposed to ten thousand in the fight. The well-armed and

[1] Compare with this the corresponding sentiment found in the fourth chapter of Malachi and the first verse.

[2] This probably is the gâtha alluded to as having been uttered by Kasyapa Buddha.

disciplined soldier comes forth from the gate desiring to engage. The thought possesses him that his strength may fail, and he begins to withdraw; but when half-way in his retreat he returns, and obstinately fights and falls in the accomplishment of victory; (or it may be rendered, "resolves to fight even to death.") Brought back to his country, how highly honoured is such a man! The man who is able to govern his heart and keep it pure, and persevering against all obstacles advances onward, not entrapped by any enticing words of worldliness or folly; this man, lust banished, vice destroyed, will obtain salvation (reason).

33. There was a Shaman who nightly recited the Scriptures with plaintive and husky voice, desiring to do penance for some thought of returning to sin. Buddha in a gentle voice addressed him thus: 'Tell me, my son, when you were living in the world, what did you practise yourself in learning?' He replied, 'I was always playing on my lute.' Buddha said: 'And if the strings cf your instrument were lax, what then?' He replied, 'They would not sound.' 'And if they were too tight, what then?' He replied, 'The sound would be too sharp.' 'But if they were tuned to a just medium, what then?' He replied, 'All the sounds would then be harmonious and agreeable.' Buddha addressed the Shaman—'The way of Religion (learning) is even so. Keep the mind well adjusted, and you will be able to acquire reason.'

34. Buddha said: The practice of Religion is just like the process followed in an iron foundry. The metal being melted, is gradually separated from the dross and drops down; so that the vessel made from the metal must needs be good. The way of wisdom is likewise a gradual process; consisting in the separation of all heart pollution, and so by perseverance, reason is accomplished. Any other course is but weariness of the flesh, and this results in mental sorrow, and this leads to apostasy, and this leads to hell (Asura).

35. Buddha said: A religious man has his griefs and sorrows the same as the irreligious man; for from birth to

old age, and from this through disease to death, how endless are the sorrows to be endured? But when all these sorrows and accumulated guilt result in endless births and deaths; this grief is indeed past description.

36. Buddha said: It is difficult for a man to avoid the three evil ways of birth (viz., heart, demon, or in Hell), and to be born as a human being. Having been born as a human creature, it is difficult to be born as a man instead of a woman. This being so, to have every faculty of mind and body complete is difficult. This being so it is difficult to be born in the middle country (India). This being so, it is difficult to attain knowledge of Buddha's doctrine. This being so, it is difficult to become eminent in the profession of that doctrine. This being so, it is difficult to be born in the condition of a Bôdhisatwa. This being so, it is difficult to be born when there is a living Buddha in the world, and to take final refuge in the three precious objects of worship.

37. Buddha asked the Shamans: 'In what does a man's life consist?' One replied, 'In length of days.' Buddha said: 'Son! you are not able to obtain supreme wisdom.' Again he asked a Shaman the same question. He replied, 'in eating and drinking.' Buddha answered: 'Son, you are not yet able to attain supreme wisdom.' Again he asked the same question of a Shaman, who replied, 'Man's life is but a breath, a sigh.' Buddha answered: 'Well said! Son, you are able to speak about the acquirement of supreme reason.'

38. Buddha said: A disciple removed from me by a distance of several thousand li, yet thinking about me and keeping my commandments, must in the end obtain perfection. Whilst another who dwells with me and yet allows rebellious thoughts, and does wickedly, he shall not attain perfection. Truth of profession results in correct conduct. If a man consorting with me does not conform his life to my commandments, what benefit will ten thousand precepts be to him?

39. Buddha said: A man in the practice of his religious

duties, is like one eating honey, which is sweet throughout. So my doctrines (Sûtras) are sweet throughout: the system advocated in them is altogether a source of pleasure. Those who practise them shall attain supreme knowledge.

40. Buddha said: A man in the practice of Religion who is able to destroy the root of lust and desire in himself, may be compared to a person who counts over his beads. One by one he counts them, till the whole be finished. So when there is an end of wickedness, reason is attained.

41. Buddha said: All you Shamans who are walking in the paths, ought to consider yourselves as oxen carrying loads and going through the deep mud. Tired out with their exertions they dare not go to the right or left out of the way; but they long to get out of the mud, so as to rest themselves and have done with it. So the Shaman, regarding his passions and desires as worse than that mud, bends his whole soul to the pursuit of his path, that he may be able to avoid all sorrow.

42. Buddha said: I regard the dignities of kings and princes as the dust-motes in a sunbeam; the value of gold and jewels as that of a broken platter; dresses of the finest silk I regard as the scraps of silk given as presents. I regard the collective chiliocosm as the letter "A" (the symbol of the earth). The four great rivers of the Anavatapta lake I regard as the mire that soils one's feet. The different expedients in religious practice I regard as a mere raft to carry over the treasure. To wish for the way (or Religion) of Buddha, as the sky-flowers that dance in the sight; to seek after an inferior kind of Samâdhi, I regard as a prop placed under Mount Sumeru. To wish for Nirvâna as day and night wakefulness. I regard the accomplishment of the right way (drishti margga) as the dancing of the six dragons, the state of perfect mental equilibrium as the true standing ground, and all the various forms of apparitional existence as the changes of vegetation during the four seasons.

All the great Bikshus having heard the words of Buddha were filled with joy, and respectfully departed.

THE PRATIMÔKSHA.

In the previous sections we have observed that the teaching of Buddha in the first instance concerned itself principally with questions relating to the evils of life, and the mode of escape. His followers consisted of men, whether Brahmans, or fire worshipers, or hermits, who were convinced of the truth of his teaching, and consented to certain simple rules of personal discipline. The Brahmans, we are told, existed at this time merely as a class of learned men, and not as priests, enjoying the respect of the people in consequence of their learning.[1] They had perfect liberty to become partizans of Buddha, or any other master, and hence in the celebrated inscriptions of Asoka the Brahmans are associated with the Sravakas, or auditors of Buddha's teaching, and placed in precedence, although the king was a convert to Buddhism. The general agreement in reference to what they should believe (beyond the great questions of Suffering and Deliverance) was "That all which is in concord with good sense, or generally speaking, with the particular circumstances of the case, that that is also in accord with truth, and ought to be taken as a guide, as being the rule of Buddha's teaching" (Wassilief, § 18). From this declaration it is plain there was ample room for differences of opinion, and such differences occurred. These differences led to the formation of schools, and to many controversies which occupied the attention of the later converts. The learned writer already quoted has given it as his opinion that the discovery of writing took place in India, many ages after Buddha had died. This fact would still further account for many of the disagreements which actually occurred. But there was no difference of opinion on one point, viz., the necessity of a code of discipline, when once the ascetics gave up their solitary life, and began to assemble in fixed localities. Hitherto there had been a tacit agreement on certain great principles, such as the following. 1. To reject all garments but

[1] Wassilief, *Buddhisme*, § 27.

those of the meanest description, and of these only to possess three. 2. To beg the food necessary for life. 3. To remain seated in one place whilst eating. 4. To reside either in the forest, or at the foot of a tree, or at least in an open space.[1] But in the season of the heavy rains it is plain such an ascetic mode of life would not be in keeping with good sense, and therefore it became customary for the mendicants at this time to retreat to the shelter of friendly houses, and from this to assemble in fixed localities, and finally to dwell together in community. During this season there was established, at a very early period, a form of discipline approaching to our ideas of public confession and absolution. The custom was for the Brethren (Bhanté, or in Chinese, Tai-tih) to assemble twice during the month, viz., on the first and fifteenth, and then to acquit themselves of certain faults by public examination and formal denial. This rule was such an early one, and the particulars with respect to it so well defined, that we find a marked agreement in the method of its discharge, both in the Northern and Southern schools. The code containing the Rules is called, in Sanscrit, the Pratimôksha. In Ceylon it is known as the Pattimokkhan (translated "supreme perfection" by Mr. Gogerly), and it comes under the classification of the Rules of the Four Divisions in the Chinese.

These four divisions are probably the divisions (vastu) of the Vinaya Pitaka, of which the Pratimoksha was the first.

The number of the rules varies in different countries; in Thibet, according to Csoma Corosi, they amount to 253; in the Pali version they are 227; and in the Chinese 250. But the division into sections or classes of faults requiring a different degree of penance is the same throughout. These sections are eight in number, and are thus described. 1. Pârâjika (Ch. Po-lo-i), demanding entire excommunication. This section consists (in the Chinese) of four rules. 2.

[1] We shall have occasion to refer to these ordinances in another section of the present work. They belong to the division called "Telesdhútanga." Vide Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 9.

Saṁghadisesa (Ch. Seng-kia-po-shi-sha), including thirteen rules requiring a distinct confession before an assembly of not less than five Brethren, and the infliction of penance according to their decision. The third section is called Aniyatâ Damma or Anitya-dhammá (Ch. wou-teng), consisting of two rules, and requiring suspension or exclusion, according to the degree of guilt. 4. Nissaggiyâ-pâchittiya (Ch. Ni-sa-chi-po-yeh-to), requiring forfeiture of goods, consisting of thirty rules. 5. Pâchittiya, requiring confession and repentance, (Ch. Po-yeh-to), including 90 rules (the Pali list gives 92). 6. Phatidesani (Ch. Po-lo-ti-ti-che-ni), requiring reprimand, consisting of four rules. 7. Sekkhiyâ Damma (Ch. Chung-hioh, "requiring study"), to be studied, by way of personal discipline, consisting of 100 rules, (the Pali has only 75). 8. Adhikarana-samata (Ch. Mih-tsang, destroying litigation), consisting of seven rules, (and hence sometimes called Sattâdhikarana-Samatá).

INTRODUCTORY GÂTHAS.

[The Chinese version of the Pratimôisha is taken from the school known as that of the Dharmaguptas.]

I bend my head in adoration, and worship all the Buddhas,
The Holy Law, and the Church.
Now I proclaim the Law of the Vinaya,
In order to establish for aye the True Law.
These Precepts are like the fathomless ocean.
Like gems are they, which one tires not in seeking.
Desiring to preserve the treasure of the Holy Law,
In the hearing of the assembly I repeat it.
Wishful to prevent the prevalence of false views,[1]
I now proclaim these Precepts before the Assembly,
Delivered to us from the earliest times.
Let the Priests then attend!
Just as if a man destroyed his feet,

[1] I have here only given the substance of the original.

So that he could no longer walk,
So it is to destroy these Precepts,
Without which there can be no birth in Heaven.
Let all those who desire such birth,
Who now are living in the world,
Guard and preserve these Precepts, as feet,[1]
Beware of injuring or mutilating them,
For as a chariot which has entered on a narrow and dangerous road,
And suddenly breaks its axle, or loses a linch-pin,
So is the case of the man who breaks the Precepts.
At the time of death what forebodings!
For as a man looking in a mirror,
Sees himself graceful or deformed, and so has pleasure or pain,
Such is the effect of the Law being declared.
Has it been observed? What joy! Has it been neglected? What dismay!
So also as when two hostile armies contend,
The brave advance, the cowards retreat,
Thus is it with respect to this Law,
The pure advance boldly, the transgressors go back.
As a king is supreme amongst men,
As the ocean is chief of all flowing waters,
As the moon is chief among the stars,
As Buddha is pre-eminent among Sages,
So among all the codes of Rules,
(This) Book of Precepts is the best.
Tathâgata has established that these Laws,
Should be declared publicly every half month.

Preparatory Questions.

Are the Priests assembled? (They are.) Are all things arranged? (seats, water, sweeping, &c.) (They are.) Let all depart who are not ordained. (If any, let them go; if

[1] This comparison may perhaps throw some light on such compounds as "Dhamma Pada," etc.

none are present, let them say so.) Does any Bikshu here present ask for absolution? (Let them answer accordingly.) Exhortation must be given to the priestesses, (but if there are none present let them say so.) Are we agreed what our present business is? It is to repeat the Precepts in this lawful assembly.[1]

Venerable brethren (Bhanté) attend now! On this 15th or 14th day of the white[2] division of the month (or the dark division, as the case may be), let the assembled priests listen attentively and patiently, whilst the Precepts are distinctly recited.

Commencement.

Brethren! I desire to go through the Pratimôksha.[3] Bikshus! assembled thus, let all consider and devoutly reflect on these Precepts. If any have transgressed let them repent! If none have transgressed then stand silent! silent! Thus, brethren, it shall be known that ye are guiltless.

Now if a stranger ask one of us a question, we are bound to reply truthfully; so, also, Bikshus, we who reside in community, if we know that we have done wrong and yet decline to acknowledge it, we are guilty of prevarication. But Buddha has declared that prevarication effectually prevents our religious advancement. That brother, therefore, who is conscious of transgression, and desires absolution, ought at once to declare his fault, and after proper penance he shall have rest and peace.

Brethren! having repeated this preface, I demand of you all—Is this assembly pure or not? (Repeat this three times.) Brethren! this assembly is pure; silent! silent! ye stand. So let it be! Brethren, I now proceed to recite the four parâjikâ laws, ordered to be recited twice every month.

[1] Sangha-kamma, vide Burnouf, *Lotus*, 437.

[2] The white and dark divisions of the month are the periods when the moon is visible or invisible.

[3] Pratimôksha; *sc.* prati. towards, and môksha, deliverance; πρός τὸ σωθῆναι.

THE FOUR PÂRÂJIKA RULES.

(*Excommunication*).

1. If a Bikshu[1] holding the precepts and agreeing therewith, without leaving the community, act in opposition to the precepts, and repent not, wickedly practising all sorts of impure conduct, till he come to live in common with the brute beasts, this Bikshu shall be excluded (Po-lo-i) and cut off from the assembly.

2. If a Bikshu living in a village, or an uninhabited place (quiet place), encouraging a thievish disposition, take goods which are not given him, with a thievish intent; and if a king or his minister take this man and imprison, banish, or kill him (saying), "You are a thief, or you are a fool, or you are besotted!" This Bikshu shall be excluded, and separated from the community.

3. If a Bikshu cause a man's death, or hold a weapon and give it a man (for the purpose), or if he speak of the advantages of death, or if he ceaselessly exhort one to meet death (saying), "Tush! you are a brave man," or use such wicked speech as this, "It is far better to die and not to live," using such considerations as these, bringing every sort of expedient into use, praising death, exhorting to death. This Bikshu ought to be excluded and cut off.

4. If a Bikshu, having no true knowledge, speak of himself in these words, "I have attained perfection (lit. the law above men), I have entered on the most excellent law of holy or sacred wisdom, I know Truth; I see Truth; and if that man at another time, whether asked or unasked, desiring absolution, shall speak thus: "Indeed I neither know nor see, and when I said I saw, and when I said I knew, it was but vain, wild and false language, in order to exclude the necessity of further advance, and to encourage my idle disposition." This Bikshu ought to be excluded and cut off.

[1] A Bikshu is a Buddhist mendicant. The term is applied to monks living in community.

Worthy Sirs! I have thus delivered the 4 Pârâjika rules. If there be any Bikshu who has transgressed either one or other of them, it is impossible for such a man to live in the community after his sin as he was before. That man has acquired the guilt which demands exclusion, and ought not to live as a member of the priesthood. I demand, therefore, Brethren! Are ye all in this assembly pure [3 times]. Brethren! This assembly is pure! Silently, therefore, ye stand! So let it be!

Brethren! I now proceed to recite the 13 Sang-ka-hi-shi-sha Rules.

THE THIRTEEN SANGHADISESA RULES.

(*Suspension and Penance*).

1. If a Bikshu by pampering lustful thoughts be conquered by them, except in his dreams, let him be suspended (Sang-ka-hi-shi-sha).

2. If a Bikshu, encouraging lustful desires, bring his body into contact with that of a woman, whatever part of her body it be, let him be suspended (Sang-ka-hi-shi sha).

3. If a Bikshu, encouraging lustful thoughts, talk lewdly with a woman, let him be suspended (Sang-ka-hi-shi-sha).

4. If a Bikshu, encouraging lustful thoughts, pampering his body, say, in the presence of a woman, "Honourable sister, I am preparing myself by the purest Rule, holding the precepts in their fullest perfection, preparing myself in the law of perfect virtue, which admits of holding these laws of lustful desires, (come) minister to me!" and being thus ministered to by the woman, let him be suspended and undergo the highest penance.

5. If a Bikshu, in his journeyings, busy himself as a matchmaker between this one and another, and being the messenger of a man, talk with the woman on these points, or being the messenger of a woman, talk with the man on this subject; and if he thus complete arrangements so that there

be intercourse between the two, whether for marriage or the occasion only, let him be suspended.

6. If a Bikshu seek to get a house for himself, without a householder, on his own account alone, he must take care to observe the proper measurements; the mean measurements are these, 12 of Buddha's spans in length, and within, 7 of these spans broad. He ought also to take the body of the Bikshus, to mark out the position of the place given (*i. e.*, to consecrate the site), in doing which they must observe the character of the place, that it be not either dangerous of approach or difficult of access; if the Bikshu, notwithstanding the illegal position, still build his house, or if he take not the Bikshus to inspect it, or if it exceed the lawful measurement, let him be suspended.

7. If a Bikshu desire to construct a large house[1] with a proprietor, but for himself, he ought to take certain of the Bikshus to inspect the character of the site, to see that it is a place without any difficulty of approach, and not in a dangerous neighbourhood; if he do not observe these regulations, let him be suspended.

8. If a Bikshu, from the blind effects of angry resentment, vilify a Bikshu (as worthy of being) Po-lo-i (*i. e.*, guilty of a crime meriting expulsion), whereas his assertion is mere slander, wishing to remove that man from his purity, and at another time, solicited or not, he confess that his charge resulted from anger, let him be suspended.

9. If a Bikshu, because he is angry, take an idea from a different subject, and slander a Bikshu as fit to be excommunicated, without cause, and if at another time, solicited or not, he confess that he did so through anger, let him be suspended.[2]

[1] That is, a Vihara. The small house is for the residence of a single priest, built partly by his own labour, and partly by subscription, and not vested in any proprietor; it is therefore said to be "without a household" (assâmikan, in the Pali). The Vihara, or large house, is built by proprietors, and is therefore called "sassâmikan" in the Pali.

[2] The history of this enactment and the previous one is as follows:—

10. If a Bikshu, wishing to break the harmony among the community, plot and consider how to accomplish this, firmly holding to his intention and not relinquishing it, another Bikshu (acquainted with his purpose), ought to expostulate with him and say, "Brother! do not interrupt the harmony of the assembly! do not devise expedients for this purpose! do not consider the best means of doing this mischief! holding to it and persevering in it. Brother! There ought to be harmony in the community, peace and not wrangling, as the learner of one master; agreeing, as milk combines with water; so combining in the law of Buddha! There is profit and rest in so doing!" If the (wicked) Bikshu, at the time of being thus exhorted, still keep to his purpose, and relinquish it not, the other must expostulate three times, in order to induce the first to lay aside his purpose; if, after the third warning, he give up his intention, it is well! but if not, let him be suspended.

11. If a Bikshu have formed a cabal, say of one, two, or three, or more (brothers), and if he shall thus address the other (who has been expostulating with some offender), "Brother, do not chide this Bikshu, he is a good man, and speaks according to the law and precepts. What he says I and others approve of and rejoice at." Then the first shall reply, expostulating, thus, "Brother! say not so! say not that this Bikshu is in agreement with the law and precepts; say not you approve and rejoice at what he says, for in truth this Bikshu is an opposer of the Law in saying what he does; he is a transgressor of the precepts! Brother! do not desire thus to break the harmony of the community! you

A certain priest wishing to ruin the character of another, had brought a charge of incontinence against him, but had failed to effect his object. One day, as he was walking with some of his fellow priests, they passed a flock of goats, on which he said, "We will give to that he-goat the name of the priest, and to that she-goat the name of the woman, and then we can say that we really saw an act of sin taking place between them." He did so; but when the case was investigated the equivocation was discovered, and the enactment made of which we are speaking. (Gogerly.)

ought, indeed, to rejoice at, and desire to see harmony amongst the brethren. Brother! amongst priests there should be peace and not wrangling! learners of one master, as milk mingles with water, so should it be in the law of Buddha, having peace there is great prosperity!" If, at the time of this warning, the other still hold his resolve, let the expostulation be repeated three times, &c.; if he hear, well! if not, let him be suspended!

12. If a Bikshu, depending on (or attached to) a certain village (or, it may be, "an assembly of priests"), live (in a fixed habitation) in a city or town, and pollute the house in which he lives, walking disorderly, so that all see it and hear it, all the Bikshus ought to converse with this Bikshu, and say, "Brother! you have polluted the family in which you reside; your conduct is disorderly; all men see it, and talk of it. Now, you are able to leave this monastery (assembly) and go elsewhere; you may not live in this community." These Bikshus so speaking, and that one replying, "Brothers! this community is one-sided (through love), is full of anger, wishes to terrify, is foolish; there are other priests guilty of this same fault, some are expelled, and some not." Then all the Bikshus, chiding him, shall say, "Brother! say not so, that in this community there are priests of such character, whereas it is not the case. Brother, it is your disorderly conduct which all men see and talk about (that is the cause of our speaking as we do)." Thus if he, at the time of this warning, still hold his opinion, let it be repeated three times; if he retract and repent, well! if not, let him be suspended.

13. If a Bikshu, of a bad disposition, will not bear being spoken to, according to the direction of the law of precepts, and if, when all the Bikshus have expostulated with him on this account, he reply, "Brother, do not talk thus at me! whether I am right or wrong! I also will say nothing to you, whether right or wrong. Brother, be agreed (or satisfied), do not find fault!" Those Biskshus, addressing him, shall say, "Brother! refuse not to receive our appeal!

a brother ought to receive the word of (kind) expostulation. Brother! as the law corrects all the Bikshus, so would all the Bikshus, according to the law, expostulate with our brother. So the disciples of Buddha shall all receive profit, correcting each other in turn for their faults, and mutually inviting each other to further repentance." These Bikshus thus speaking to him, if he still hold by his opinion after three warnings, let him be suspended.

Priests! thus have I repeated the thirteen Sang-ka-hi-shi-sha ordinances: the first nine (to be inflicted) for the first offence, the others after three warnings. If a Bikshu have broken any one of the laws (above named), and wilfully concealed it, he ought to be placed under compulsory solitary confinement (pravâsa), after which he should pass six nights of mânatta penance (a penance it would appear consisting in "thoughtful consideration"). After this he ought to be absolved. Twenty priests in conclave may absolve him; if only one person short of twenty come together, he shall not be absolved; and in this case all the Bikshus shall be considered blameworthy. This is the law. I now ask all the venerable ones in this assembly, are you pure or not (three times)? Venerable ones! this assembly is pure—Silently therefore ye stand! So let it be.

Venerable priests! the following rules relate to faults not capable of exact definition (anitya dharma); they are two in number, and are found in the Vinaya, and are ordered to be repeated bi-monthly (requiring suspension or penance according to the case).

THE TWO ANITYA RULES.

1. If a priest (Bikshu) occupy a screened and sheltered place, in common with a woman, and sit in a spot fit for the commission of sin, and at the same time indulge in licentious (unlawful) conversation with her—if, for example, she be a faithful laywoman (upâsikâ)—and they converse together on matters relating to the three laws, viz., pârâjika,

sañghâdisesa, pâchittiya (*i. e.*, laws relating to incontinence, or personal contact without actual crime, or private communication with a woman without contact) and if this Bikshu, sitting in the manner mentioned, say of his own accord: "I have broken these laws, and am therefore liable to the several punishments attached to the transgression, whether entire exclusion, or suspension and penance, or public confession," then according to what this faithful laywoman shall report, respecting the crimes which the Bikshu has acknowledged, such shall be his punishment.

2. If a Bikshu consort with a woman in an open place, unfit for the commission of crime, but talk loosely with her, for example with a well-principled laywoman about the two laws, sanghâdisesa, and pâchittiya, and say respecting each of these of his own accord: "I have broken these laws and am liable to the punishment attached to such transgression"—this Bikshu shall be punished according to what the faithful laywoman reports. This also is a case in point.

Venerable priests! I have thus declared these two rules called anitya (puh teng) (undetermined). I demand of you all, is this assembly pure or not (three times). Venerable ones! this assembly is pure, and therefore you are silent. So let it be.

Venerable priests! I now proceed to declare the thirty Nissaggiyâ-pâchittiyâ dhammâ, to be recited bi-monthly, as contained in the midst of the Vinaya (or book of precepts). [requiring forfeiture of such things as the priests are permitted to possess].

1. If a Bikshu, having finished a set of robes for himself,[1]

[1] The robes or garments allowed to the Buddhist priest are three in number. 1. The antaravâsaka or under garment (a sort of kilt worn round the waist, and concealing the body from the navel to the knee). 2. The uttarasanghati, *i. e.*, the upper garment (worn usually over the left shoulder across the breast to the waist [it would seem that on ordinary occasions it was worn over both shoulders, and only freed from the right side when entering on any religious duty]. 3. The sanghati, *i. e.*, the great garment, worn as a cloak, when engaged in begging or in a layman's house reciting the Law.

the Katina cloth[1] having been distributed, be presented with an additional garment, he may retain it ten days without consecration, but if he keep it beyond that time, it is nissaggiyâ pâchittiyâ.

2. If a Bikshu, having finished a set of robes for himself, the Katina cloth having been distributed, if he be short of either of the three, leaving one here and another there, except by permission of a Sangha-Kamma:[2] this is nissaggiyâ pachittiyâ.

3. If a Bikshu, after completing his robes, and the distribution of the Katina cloth, be offered a garment out of the regular time, if he desire it he may take it; having received it, let it be quickly made up. If it be enough to make him a robe, well! but if not, he may keep the piece by him a whole month, in order to obtain a further piece to make up the deficiency; but if he keep it longer than a month, it is nissaggiya pâchittiyâ.

4. If a Bikshu receive a piece of cloth from a Bikshuni, not related to him, except in the way of justifiable exchange, it is nissaggiyâ pâchittiya.

5. If a Bikshu send one of his robes to a Bikshuni, not a relative, to be washed or smoothed after it has been dyed, it is nissaggiyâ pâchittiyâ.

6. If a Bikshu ask a robe from a householder (grihapati) not a relative of his, or from the householder's wife, except on special occasions, it is nissaggiyâ pachittiyâ. The special occasions are when his robe has been stolen, or lost, or burnt, or blown away.

7. If a Bikshu, under such circumstances, shall by any unguarded expression intimate a wish that this householder

[1] With respect to the Katina cloth, consult Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 121. The Chinese equivalent, ka-chi-na, is explained in the glossary as "(robes or cloth entailing merit)."

[2] There are two sorts of assembly of priests for judicial or other purposes. 1. Sangha-kamma, an assembly of more than five priests. 2. Gana kamma, an assembly of less than five, vide Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 437. The expression in the Chinese, kie-mo, probably refers to the Sangha-kamma.

or his wife, neither of them being related to him, should give him a robe (or cloth for a robe), this Bikshu may receive a just equivalent (for that which he has lost); if he takes more, it is nissaggiyâ pachittiyâ.

8. If a householder or his wife shall have collected money in order to provide a robe for a particular priest, and if this priest, before receiving it, and without any invitation, go to the house of the master of the family, and speak thus to him, "Excellent householder! purchase such and such a robe and give it me, because it is good!" If he obtain his request, it is nissaggiyâ pachittiyâ.

9. If two householders or their wives shall have collected money to buy a robe to give to a particular priest, and if that priest before receiving it, and at his own invitation, go to the residences of these householders, and speak thus: "Excellent Sirs! I pray you purchase such and such pieces of cloth for me, because they will together make me one beautiful robe!" if he obtain his request, it is nissagiyâ pachittiyâ.

10. If a king, or chief minister, or a Brahman (or) a householder, or a householder's wife, send to a particular priest a messenger with a present of money for the purchase of cloth, and if the messenger come to the priest and say, "Venerable sir, will you receive from me at once the purchase money for a robe, with which I am entrusted for you?" and the priest reply, "It is allowable for me to procure for myself a robe, at the proper time, then we receive consecrated (cloth)," to which the messenger rejoins: "Venerable Sir! have you any man of business here?" and the priest says: "yes," whether it be somebody belonging to the priest's garden, or a upasaka (layman), who is accustomed to look after the secular affairs of the priests; and in consequence the messenger go to the place where such a person lives, and having entrusted the money to his care, come back to the presence of the priest and say: "Venerable Sir, I have given the money for purchasing a robe into the hands of such and such a person whom you named; Vene-

rable Sir! at the right time go to him, and you shall receive the robe you require." That Bikshu needing a robe may go two or three times to the place of his trustee to remind him of his necessity, and if he procure the robe, well and good! but if not, he may go a fourth, fifth and sixth time, and stand silently before him, and then go away. If this causes the man to recollect his debt, well and good! but if the priest does not even thus procure the robe, and go back after this to the man to try to get it—this is nissaggiyâ pachittiyâ. If he do not obtain the robe, he may either go himself, or send a messenger to the place whence the gift came and say: "The money which you sent some time ago as a present for the purchase of a robe for a particular priest, and which you entrusted to the care of such and such a person, has not been used for the benefit of the priest in question, you should go back and take it therefore, lest it be lost." Such is the rule.

11. If a Bikshu make a new coverlet for himself out of mixed silk, it is nissaggiyâ pachittiyâ.

12. If a Bikshu make a coverlet out of the fresh and unmixed wool of the black Tartar sheep, it is nissaggiyâ pachittiyâ.

13. If a Bikshu make a new coverlet for himself he ought to use two parts of pure black wool, three parts of white, and four parts brown or tawny. If he do not observe this proportion, it is nissaggiyâ pachittiyâ.

14. If a Bikshu make a new coverlet for himself, he ought to keep it fully six years; if because he has not got rid of it within the six years, he makes himself a new one, except by permission of a Sañgha-kamma; this is nissaggiyâ pachitiyâ.

15. If a Bikshu make a new seat-cover, he ought to take an old piece, one span in length and breadth, and patch it over the new, in order to destroy its appearance; if in making a new seat-cover he does not follow his rule it is nissaghiyâ patchittiyâ.

16. If a Bikshu going along the road, obtain (whether by

gift or otherwise) a sheep fleece, he may take as much of it as he requires; and if there be no one to carry it, he may carry it himself for a distance of three yôjanas, but if he exceeds this distance, it is nissaggiya pachittiyâ.

17. If a Bikshu send to a Bikshuni, not related to him, a wool-fleece to be washed, dyed or carded, it is nissaggiyâ pachittiyâ.

18. If a Bikshu take with his own hand either gold, silver, or even (copper) coin, or if he instruct another person to receive it for him, or if he keep on saying that there is such an one who may receive it, this is nissaggiyâ pachittiyâ.

19. If a Bikshu engage in the purchase or sale of different precious substances (jewels) it is nissaggiyâ pachittiyâ.

20. If a Bikshu engage in any commercial dealing it is, etc.

21. If a Bikshu store up an old rice bowl (or, it may be, "an extra rice bowl"), or if he obtain and preserve one that has not been consecrated and given to him officially, he may keep it for ten days, but if beyond that, it is, etc.

22. If a Bikshu having a rice bowl which does not leak, and has fewer than five ligatures, in addition seeks to procure a new one, because of appearances, this is nissaggiyâ pachittiyâ. The Bikshu in question ought to go and deliver up this bowl in the midst of the congregation, and then the priests going round from one brother to another, should select the very worst rice bowl, and give the new one to the possessor of it, and let him keep it till it breaks; this is the rule.

23. If a Bikshu beg for himself cotton thread, and send it to a weaver, who is no relative of his, to be woven into a garment, this is, etc.

24. If a householder or his wife have sent to a weaver, to have a garment woven for a particular priest, and if that priest, before he receive it, go by self invitation to the abode of the weaver, and speak thus: "You must weave this cloth in a very superior way, the garment is intended for me! make it broad, and long, and stout, and woven of an even texture throughout, and I will give you something for your

extra trouble;" and if this Bikshu give to the weaver any price for the robe, even if it be only a mouthful of rice, and so obtain it, this is, etc.

25. If a priest having first of all given a garment to another priest, afterwards, because he is angry with him, go and take it away, or cause some one else to do so, this is, etc.

26. If a Bikshu, being sick, store up cream, or ghee or butter, or honey or sugar, he may keep it for seven days to cure himself, but if he keep these things longer, then it is, etc.

27. If a Bikshu come to the last month of the spring season, he should request a rain cloke against the wet, and he may begin to wear it in the middle of the month; if he request this garment before the last month, or begin to wear it before the middle of the month, it is, etc.

28. If a Bikshu, during the last ten days of the three months of summer, be unexpectedly presented with a robe, he ought to receive it, and keep it in store till the time of presenting the robes (at the end of the rainy season), but if kept longer, it is, etc.

29. If a Bikshu, at the end of the three months' summer retreat, after the fifteenth day of the eighth month, think proper to remove to a distant spot, and if there be some danger or apprehension of danger in connection with the spot he has chosen for a residence, the Bikshu thus circumstanced may leave either one of his three garments in a house of the village in which he has been residing; and if occasion require, may go without it for six nights, but after that it is, etc.

30. If a Bikshu, knowing that a certain party desires to confer goods on the priests, contrives by personal influence to appropriate the property to himself, it is, etc.

Venerable ones! I have thus recited the thirty rules called nassaggiyâ pachittiyâ. I now demand of you, venerable ones! is this congregation pure or not (three times)? Venerable ones! this congregation is pure; silently, therefore, ye stand: let it be so!

Venerable priests! These following ninety rules, called pachittiyâ (requiring confession and absolution), taken from the middle of the Book of Precepts, are to be repeated bi-monthly.

THE NINETY PACHITTIYÂ RULES.

1. If a Bikshu tell a wilful lie, it is pachittiyâ.

2. If a Bikshu be guilty of slander, it is pachittiyâ.

3. If a Bikshu be guilty of hypocritical language, etc.

4. If a Bikshu occupy the same lodging as a woman, it is, etc.

5. If a Bikshu occupy for more than two nights the same lodging with a man not yet ordained, it is, etc.

6. If a Bikshu chant prayers with a man not yet ordained, it is, etc.

7. If a Bikshu, knowing that another priest has been guilty of various misdemeanours and sins, speak of them with a man not yet ordained, except by permission of a Sangha-kamma, it is, etc.

8. If a Bikshu, speaking with a man not yet ordained, respecting the laws which are beyond the reach of men (*i. e.*, about Religion), shall say of himself, "I know the Truth: I have grasped the Truth." Even if it be true, he is guilty of pachittiyâ.

9. If a Bikshu preach to a woman beyond five or six sentences, except in the presence of a discreet person, it is, etc.

10. If a Bikshu with his own hand dig the ground or teach a man to do so, it is, etc.

11. If a Bikshu destroy the abodes of disembodied spirits, it is, etc. [I am unable to explain this Rule, unless the Pali throws any light on it, "the cutting of trees, grass, etc., is pachittiyâ."]

12. If a Bikshu sow strife amongst the Brethren by wilful prevarication, it is, etc.

13. If a Bikshu rail at or abuse a priest, it is, etc.

14. If a Bikshu take a priest's bed, stool, coverlet, or cushion, and place it with his own hands on the ground (for his own use), or request some one else to do so, and then go away leaving the article where he put it, without replacing it, it is, etc.

15. If a Bikshu do the same as the above within a residence of priests, it is, etc.

16. If a Bikshu, knowing that some particular place is occupied generally by another priest, go and take it himself, saying, "if he wants me to give it up to him, let him tell me so." If he act thus, when there is no justifying cause, or want of propriety on the part of the other priest, it is, etc.

17. If a Bikshu get angry with another, and dislike his presence in the priests' house, and so forcibly eject him, or get some one to eject him, this is, etc.

18. If a Bikshu sit or sleep on a chair or bed with a loose leg,[1] or the top of a belfry or upper story belonging to the priests' residence, it is, etc.

19. If a Bikshu use water which he knows contains insects in it, either for laying the dust or watering shrubs, it is, etc.

20. If a Bikshu is making (or causing to be made) a door for a building attached to a great residence, or a window, or the various ornamental belongings, he may direct as much brushwood (or, wood from an unenclosed spot) to be used, as is equivalent to two or three distinct loads, if more, it is, etc.

21. If a Bihshu, with no commission from the priests, shall impart instruction to the Bikshunis, it is, etc.

22. If a Bikshu, commissioned by the priests, impart instruction to the Bikshunis, and continue to do so when the sun has gone down, it is, etc.

23. If a Bikshu, conversing with the other priests, should speak thus: "the priests in general impart instruction to the Bikshunis for the sake of eating and drinking," it is, etc.

[1] So as to endanger the life of any one below.

24. If a Bikshu give a garment to a Bikshuni, not related to him, except in the way of exchange (man yih, trade or barter), it is, etc.

25. If a Bikshu give to a Bikshuni, not related to him, made up clothes, it is, etc.

26. If a Bikshu occupy a covered place, in company with a Bikshuni, it is, etc.

27. If a Bikshu travel on a road, or go to a village, with a Bikshuni, except on allowed occasions, it is, etc. The occasions are when there is an associated company (a caravan), and when there is an apprehension of a dangerous locality. This is the Rule.

28. If a Bikshu agree to accompany a Bikshuni in a boat, and proceed either up or down a river, except in a regular ferry boat, which plies from one side to the other, it is, etc.

29. If a Bikshu partake of food which he knows has been procured for him by means of the express interference (commendation) of a Bikshuni, except where the provider (the Danapati) had previously designed to give it, it is, etc.

30. If a Bikshu make an agreement with a woman to accompany her on the road in going to a village (or, it may be translated "even as far as the village, or, place of assembly"), it is, etc.

31. If a Bikshu has food given him at an eating-house, not being sick, he may receive it (for one day), but if more than once, it is, etc.

32. If a Bikshu go to various places to dine (take a round of eating, *i. e.*, eat at different times or places), except on special occasions, it is pachittiyâ—the occasions are in time of sickness, at the time of giving the robes, and at the time of making the robes. This is the Rule.

33. If a Bikshu absent himself from the common meal of the priests, except on special occasions, it is pachittiyâ—the special occasions are, in time of sickness, when the cloth for robes is presented, and when the robes are being made; also, when on a journey or voyage, at the time of a great assembly (or, on a great occasion), or, finally, when a general invitation is given to the Shamans. This is the Rule.

34. If a Bikshu go to the house of his patron (danapati), and be urgently invited to take cakes (dumplings), cooked rice, or ground corn (parched and then ground) the Bikshu as he pleases (requires) may take two or three bowlfuls; then he should take it within the monastery (temple), and divide it with the other Bikshus; if a Bikshu, except in case of sickness, take more than two or three bowlfuls, it is pachittiyà.

35. If a Bikshu, after a sufficient meal, at a time perchance when he has received an invitation to dine, do not comply with the rules which refer to superfluous food,[1] but take an additional meal elsewhere, it is pachittiyà.

36. If a Bikshu, knowing that another priest has finished his meal, earnestly press him to partake of food with him, such food not consisting of remnants from a meal given by invitation, and say: "Brother (excellent sir!) take some of this food, I pray you," and by such expressions (or influences) without any sufficient reason, he plots to make that priest disobedient, it is (to the inviting priest) pachittiyà.

37. If a Bikshu eat at a forbidden hour, it is pachittiyà.

38. If a Bikshu eat spoiled or sour food, it is pachittiyà.[2]

39. If a Bikshu, not receiving food (in charity), take any thing within his mouth of a medicinal character,[3] except water, and the stick used for teeth-cleaning (yang-chi) it is pachittiyà.

40. If a Bikshu obtain choice and tasty food, milk, cream, fish, flesh, or (not being sick) in his own person and for himself seek for such things, it is pachittiyà.

41. If a Bikshu with his own hand give food to a male or female unbeliever, it is pachittiyà.

42. If a Bikshu, having been previously invited (to dine), go either before or after the meal to other houses (to beg),

[1] That is, not to eat anything except that which is left from the meal provided by his entertainer.

[2] I take the word "suh" to mean "sour" or "musty."

[3] For the purpose of sustaining his strength, as *e. gr.*, the areca nut.

without any commission from the rest of the priests, this is pachittiyâ, except on certain occasions, viz., at the time of sickness, when making the clothes, when clothes are presented.

43. If a priest eating food in a house known to have women in it, remain sitting there for an unnecessary length of time, it is pachittiyâ.[1]

44. If a Bikshu eating in a house known to contain women, shall sit apart in a private or concealed place, it is pachittiyâ.

45. If a Bikshu sit alone with a woman on the open ground, it is pachittiyâ.

46. If a Bikshu conversing with a priest,[2] speak in this way: "Friend! let us go together to such and such a village, and take our meal in company with one another;" and then that Bikshu, without any warning, whilst eating with the other, speak thus: "Now you may go! it is not agreeable to me to sit or eat with you; I prefer being alone;" if in this way, without any sufficient reason, he send him away, it is pachittiyâ.

47. If a Bikshu be asked to receive such things as are allowed during time of sickness, extending over a period of four months, he may accept the invitation for this period, even though he be at the time in good health, but if he exceeds such a term, except there be a perpetual invitation, or a new invitation, or a partial invitation, or a general invitation, it is pachittiyâ.

48. If a Bikshu go to a place to witness (the evolutions of) an army, except for some lawful reasons, it is pachittiyâ.

50. If a Bikshu, residing in the place where an army is assembled, for two or three nights, should go to witness an

[1] It may also be rendered "sit too long in any eating-house containing women," but this is not so likely. I translate the word "pau" (literally, "treasure," or anything "precious") by "women," *i.e.*, "women of the harem," because this sense of the expression is most apposite, and is borne out by the 81st Law of this Section.

[2] "Tchou" is here the sign of the dative.

engagement, or see the army when exercising, or feats of strength (personal prowess) of the elephants or cavalry, it is pachittiyâ.

52. If a Bikshu gambol in the water (*i. e.*, when bathing) it is pachittiyâ.

51. If a Bikshu drink any distilled or fermented liquor (tsin), it is pachittiyâ.

53. If a Bikshu strike another, it is pachittiyâ.

54. If a Bikshu will not receive reproof, it is, etc.

55. If a Bikshu terrify or threaten another, it is, etc.

56. A Bikshu in good health ought to bathe twice a month; if he does so more frequently, except on allowed occasions, it is pachittiyâ. The occasions are, during the hot season, during sickness, at the time of work, when there is much wind (and therefore dust), and when there is much rain (and therefore mud), and also after a long journey. This is the Rule.

57. If a Bikshu, in good health, make a fire on the ground to warm himself by, or cause such a fire to be made, except for some reasons connected with the time of year (or it may be "the time or hour of the day," as, for example, to give light as a lamp, and the Pali agrees with this) it is pachittiyâ.

58. If a Bikshu hide away the robes, or the alms-bowl, or the cushion or the needle-case of another Bikshu, so as to make fun of him, or if he cause any one else to do so, it is, etc.

59. If a Bikshu consecrate the robes of any Bikshu, Bikshuni, Sikshamana, Samanera, or Shamini, without asking the express permission of the superior, it pachittiyâ.

60. If a Bikshu obtain new robes he ought to use three kinds of dye (or pollution of any sort) so as to destroy its beauty (or colour), viz., either green, or black, or earth-colour;[1] if he fails to do this, it is pachittiyâ.

61. If a Bikshu purposely take away the life of any animal, it is pachittiyâ.

62. If a Bikshu drink water which he knows has insects in it, it is pachittiyâ.

[1] I take the Chinese "muh-lan" to be a form of the Sanscrit mûla, and therefore equivalent to the colour of nature or earth.

63. If a Bikshu is wilfully angry with another Bikshu, and after a short time does not put away his resentment, it is pachittiyâ.

64. If a Bikshu knowing that another Bikshu has been guilty of any disgraceful or criminal act, hush it up or conceal it, it is, etc.

65. A man fully twenty years of age may be permitted to undertake the great precepts.[1] If a Bikshu not fully twenty years old, present himself for ordination,[2] this man cannot be received into orders,[3] the presiding priest[4] is to be blamed, on account of the foolish mistake, and (the whole transaction) is pachittiyâ.

66. If a Bikshu, knowing that either of the four questions which cause difference has been settled according to law,[5] shall afterwards stir up the matter for further discussion, it is pachittiyâ.

67. If a Bikshu knowing there is a thievish company (a body of banditti going on an expedition) request permission to accompany it, even through the village, it is pachittiyâ.

68. If a Bikshu speak in this way: "I know with respect to the laws which Buddha preached, that the indulgence of lustful desires is no real impediment to their fulfilment;" then another Bikshu shall chide him and say: "Excellent sir! speak not so! you should not thus calumniate the world-honoured one. It is not right to do so. The world-honoured one has made no such assertion, but on the contrary, in numberless ways (modes of salvation) he has said that the indulgence of lust is an impediment in the way of religious progress." This protest should be repeated three times, in

[1] *i. e.*, may be ordained.

[2] "Yu" in the sense of submits himself.

[3] Or the whole passage may be rendered, "if a Bikshu, not fully twenty years of age, be permitted ('yu' in the sense of 'permission') to take orders, his ordination is invalid."

[4] "Tchou" is sometimes capable of this sense. Vide Jul., *Monographies*. p. 146.

[5] These four causes of difference may possibly refer to 10, 11, 12, 13, of the Sanghadisesa rules; this law is wanting in the Pali.

case no impression is made; if, after that, the first Bikshu give up his false opinion, well; but if he does not, it is pachittiyâ.

69. If a Bikshu knowing a man who talks in the way described above, who does not keep the law,[1] and who holding such false views, refuses to forsake them, bestows upon such an one any thing in charity, has any religious communion with him,[2] or lodges and converses with him, it is pachittiyâ.

70. If a Bikshu, knowing that a novice uses similar language,[3] he ought to speak to him and say: "You should not use such language! You should not calumniate the world-honoured one! It is not right to do so; the world-honoured one never used the words you say he did. Novice! the world-honor'd one, in numberless modes of doctrine, always said that lust is a great obstacle in the way of religion." The novice, thus corrected, refusing to amend, should be warned three times, and if after this he repent, well; but if not, he ought to be spoken to thus: "You are from this time forth no disciple of Buddha! You may not join yourself with the other Bikshus, as the other novices do; nor is it permitted you to help the Great Bikshus during two or three nights; you are now discharged from these duties; you are at liberty to go; you may go for good; you cannot remain here." If any Bikshu, knowing that the novice has been thus rejected. associate with him, or suffer him to dwell with him, it is pachittiyâ.

71. If a Bikshu, at a time when the other Bikshus are going through the form of religious expostulation, speak thus: "Excellent sirs! I cannot now learn this law (or, abide by this rule). I purpose going to some one of eminent wisdom, who observes the precepts, to put some difficulties to him by way of query." This is pachittiyâ. If there are any explanations necessary, they ought to be sought for at once.

[1] "Mi" in the sense of "pou."

[2] Sits with him in council (sangha-kamma).

[3] As in 68.

72. If a Bikshu, when the precepts are being recited, speak in some such way as this: "Brethren! what use is there in repeating these various and minute precepts? each time they are repeated they cause people to feel perplexed and anxious, and engender doubts!" To trifle with and speak contemptuously of the precepts in this way is pachittiyâ.

73. If a Bikshu, at the time when the precepts are being recited, speak in this manner: "Brethren! I am now getting perfect in these laws; this book of precepts ordered to be recited bi-monthly, is taken from the midst of the Vinaya (precept-sûtra);" and if the other Bikshus, knowing that this priest has twice or thrice during the session when the precepts have been recited (spoken thus): "How many more times are those Bikshus without knowledge and with no explanation (going to repeat these precepts)?" If such a Bikshu has been guilty of any fault (although he refuses to answer in the public confession) still he shall be dealt with according to the law; and in addition shall be convicted of the fault of extreme ignorance (and be censured thus): "Brother! this conduct is unprofitable, and you act improperly! You do not attend whilst the precepts are recited; you shut your ears, and will not listen to the law." This crime of ignorance is pachittiyâ.[1]

74. If a Bikshu, after having attended a regularly constituted assembly (Sangha kamma), converse in this way with another Bikshu: "They attend to the priests' matters (or the goods of the priests) from interested motives,"[2] it is pachittiyâ.

75. If a Bikshu, because a matter has been decided by the priests contrary to his wish, rise up and leave the assembly, it is pachittiyâ.

76. If a Bikshu, having approved of a measure, afterwards change his mind and abuse it, it is pachittiyâ.

77. If a Bikshu, knowing that a certain priest has had

[1] This translation is hazardous, and open to correction.

[2] *i. e.*, they are partial in the distribution of goods.

a quarrel with another, having listened to what this one says, goes and repeats it to the other, it is pachittiyâ.

78. If a Bikshu strike another in anger, it is, etc.

79. If a Bikshu push another Bikshu in anger, it is, etc.

80. If a Bikshu, because he is angry and out of temper with another, charge him, without any foundation, of being guilty of a crime involving suspension (sanghadisesa), it is pachittiyâ.

81. If a Bikshu pass beyond the threshold of the royal apartments[1] of a royally anointed king, before the king himself come forth, and the women of the harem (pau) be shut up, it is pachittiyâ.

82. If a Bikshu pick up with his own hand a jewel, or the setting of a jewel, or if he cause some one to pick it up for him, except within the precincts of the priests' garden, or in a place of entertainment (*i.e.*, a lodging-house), it is pachittiyâ. He may only pick up such articles in the places named, with a view to their restoration.

83. If a Bikshu, without the authority of the other priests, enter a village at an unusual hour (prohibited hour), it is pachittiyâ.

84. If a Bikshu make a couch or chair, the legs ought to be eight of Buddha's fingers in height, exclusive of the surplus allowed for the socket-piece.[2] If they exceed this length, it is pachittiyâ.

85. If a Bikshu take the soft cotton of the Tûla tree, and store it up to make either a bed, or a chair, or a coverlet, or a cushion, it is pachittiyâ.[3]

86. If a Bikshu use either bone, ivory, or horn, to make a needle-case, and carve it and polish it for the purpose, it is pachittiyâ.

87. If a Bikshu make himself a mat for sitting on (ni-sse-

[1] Kung mun generally signifies a "government office," but Gogerly translates the Pali "sleeping apartments."

[2] *i. e.*, the part fitted into the holes of the chair or bed, to be cut off smooth with the surface.

[3] The Chinese teou-lo evidently corresponds to the Sanscrit Tûla (*morus indica*).

tan, *i. e.*, Nisâdin), it ought to be of the proper dimensions, the following is the medium size: two of Buddha's spans in length, one and a half in breadth; it may be made half a span longer and wider, but not more; if it exceed this, it is pachittiyâ.

88. If a Bikshu make a cloth for covering a wound, the medium size is four spans long, and two wide; if it be made larger, it is pachittiyâ.

89. If a Bikshu make a rain-washing cloth,[1] its medium length is six spans, and its breadth two and a half. If it exceeds this, it is pachittiyâ.

90. If a Bikshu shall make (a robe) beyond the size of the robes which Buddha used, it is pachittiyâ. This size is nine spans long, and six in width.

Venerable sirs! I have thus recited the ninety pachittiyâ laws; I now ask the entire assembly of priests, are ye pure from violation of these laws or not [three times]. Venerable sirs! This assembly is pure, and therefore ye are silent. So let it be.

Venerable sirs! The following four rules known as Phatidesani,[2] are ordered to be recited bi-monthly, and are taken from the Vinaya, or Book of Precepts.

THE FOUR PHATIDESANÎYÂ RULES.

1. If a Bikshu, in good health, enter a village and receive with his own hands food to eat from a Bikshuni, not related to him, and eat it: this Bikshu ought to confess his fault[3] in the presence of the other priests, and say: "Venerable sirs! I have transgressed by bringing contempt on the law; I ought not to have done so; I now confess my fault to the venerable priests. This is called phatidesaniyâ damma.

[1] A towel? Gogerly translates it "a garment to be used in the rainy season.

[2] Sansc. Pratidêsanîya, *i. e.*, "sins to be confessed in the presence of the priests," *sc.* prati, desayami.

[3] Obs. the Chinese "hwui" corresponds to the Sansc. "desayami." Compare the Mahâ-Parinirvana Sûtra, Kiouen 7, p. 8.

2. If a Bikshu go to a layman's house to eat, and a Bikshuni, present in the same house, point out with her finger, and say: "Give this gruel to such and such an one;" or, "Give this rice to such and such an one," the priests generally ought to speak to that Bikshuni, and say: "Worthy sister! be still; wait till the priests have done eating." If there be no priest (who has the courage) to speak thus to that Bikshuni, then the one present (or the priests who are present) ought to confess their fault before the other Bikshus, and say: "Venerable sirs! I have transgressed and brought contempt on the law; I ought not to have done so; I now confess my fault before the venerable brethren." This is phatidesaniya damma.

3. If certain families have been appointed by the assembly of priests (sañgha kamma) to the houses of resort (whether for study or otherwise) for the priests, and if a Bikshu, knowing such a family, go, whilst in good health, and without any invitation, and receive in his hand food and eat it, this Bikshu ought to confess his fault in the presence of the others, and say: "Venerable sirs! I have broken the law, and brought it into contempt, which I ought not to have done. I now confess my fault to you, venerable sirs! This is phatidesanîya damma.

4. If a Bikshu reside at a distance in a dangerous place, as a solitary ascetic (aranyaka), and do not previously warn his patrons (danapati), who reside beyond the precincts of his garden (sangharama), that they must not bring him food, and (in the face of the danger) reside within his precinct, and receive food there and eat it, except he is sick, this Bikshu shall confess his fault to the rest, and say: "Venerable sirs! I have broken the law, and brought it into contempt. I now confess to you my sin." This is phatidesanîya damma.

Venerable sirs! I have now recited the four pratidesanîya damma, and I ask this venerable assembly if it is free from transgression, or not? [three times] Venerable sirs! this assembly is pure; silently therefore you stand! Let it be so!

Venerable sirs! I now proceed to recite the Tchong-hioh

laws,[1] to be repeated bi-monthly, taken from the Book of Precepts:

THE ONE HUNDRED SEKKHIYA RULES.

1. To adjust his inner robes properly.[2]

2. To adjust properly the three outward robes.[3]

3. Not to enter a layman's house, with the robes tucked up (fan ch'aou).[4]

4. Not to sit down in a layman's house with the robes tucked up (or disarranged).

5. Not to enter a layman's house with the robes gathered round the neck.[5]

6. Not to sit down in a layman's house in a similar predicament.

7. Not to enter a layman's house with the head covered.[6]

8. Not to sit down in a layman's house under the same circumstances.

9. Not to enter a layman's house in a bouncing manner (or with a bouncing gait).

10. Not to sit down in a layman's house in the same manner.

11. I will not sit upon my heels (t'sun) within a layman's house.[7]

[1] Sañgha-sâikshya-dharma; or, as these Rules are called in the Pali, "Sekkhiya Dammâ." That is, Rules which the Priests ought to learn.

[2] So as to cover the body, from the navel to the knee.—G.

[3] That is, as I understand the passage, not the *three* robes, viz., the antaravâsika, the outtarasanghâti, and the sanghâti, of which the two former were *inner robes;* but the three kinds of the sanghâti, concerning which the Breviary of the Shamans (Sha-mun-yih-yung) has the following note. "The Sanghâti is of three sorts: the first consists of 9 parts, or of 11, or of 13; the second of 15, 17, or 19 parts; the superior of 21, 23, or 25 parts." This cloak or Sanghâti was to be worn so as to cover the whole body from the shoulders to the heels.—G.

[4] *i.e.*, to be well covered.—G.

[5] This must refer to some custom in the country concerned of tucking up the outer garment and letting it hang over the shoulders or round the neck.

[6] *i.e.*, with a cloth or other protection from the sun.

[7] This is No. 25 in the Pali; but in what way *was* the priest required to sit? Did he sit on a chair?

12. I will not enter a layman's house with a stooping gait.

13. Nor sit down under the same circumstances.

14. Not to enter a layman's house with the body swaying to and fro (yaou shin)[1]

15. Nor to sit down in the same way.

16. Not to enter a layman's house swinging the arms about.

17. Nor to sit down similarly.

18. To have the body well covered on entering a layman's house.

19. And to sit down similarly.

20. Not to move the head this way and that as I enter a layman's house.

21. Nor to sit down similarly.

22. To enter a layman's house silently.

23. To sit down similarly.

24. Not to enter a layman's house joking or laughing.

25. Nor to sit down similarly.

26. To receive food with a mind collected and staid.

27. To receive rice in an equally balanced bowl.[2]

28. To receive rice-gruel in a similar way.

29. To eat the rice and the gruel together.

30. To eat in a regular manner.[3]

31. Not to eat from the middle of his alms-bowl, the rice being heaped up in the centre.

32. When in good health, not to seek for any particular kind of rice or broth.

33. Not to look for more by covering the broth with the rice.[4]

34. Not to feel envy or anger because another priest has more or better food.

35. To hold the bowl and eat thoughtfully (or carefully).

[1] Bodily contortions.—G.

[2] "Ping." This precept was given in consequence of some priests looking about them at the time of receiving alms, and spilling the rice over the sides of the bowl.—G.

[3] *i.e.*, as the food comes, without picking dainty bits.

[4] So that the solid food may be eaten first.

36. Not to eat greedily (lit. not taking great handfuls to eat rice)[1].

37. Not to open the mouth wide to take in the rice.

38. Not to speak with rice in the mouth.

39. Not to let the rice fall out of the mouth from over-filling.

40. Not in eating rice to have a portion left behind.[2]

41. Not to crack the teeth together in eating rice.

42. Not to munch or make a munching noise in eating rice.

43. Not to make a grunting noise in, etc.

44. Not to make a lapping noise with the tongue in eating rice.

45. Not to shake the hand when eating rice.[3]

46. Not to scatter the rice about with the hand.

47. Not with defiled hands to take hold of a drinking vessel.

48. Not to fling about the water with which the rice-bowl has been rinsed.

49. Not to ease nature over any living herb; nor to cry or spit over the same (except when ill).

50. Nor in the middle of clean water, ditto.

51. Not to stand upright in easing nature, except when ill.

52. Not to repeat the law (preach) on account of a man whose garments are ill arranged, except when he is ill.

53. Not to preach to a man whose robes are negligently heaped round his neck, except when ill.

54. Not to preach to a man whose head is covered, except, etc.

55. Not to preach to a man whose head is wrapped up, except he is ill.

56. Not to preach to a man with a crooked neck (holding his head on one side), except, etc.

57. Not to preach to a man wearing his shoes, except, etc.

[1] A large mouthful is defined to be one of the size of a peacock's egg.

[2] *i.e.*, not to have too much for one mouthful.

[3] *i.e.*, to disengage them from particles of food.

58. Not to preach to a man wearing wooden pattens, except, etc.

59. Not to preach to a man on horseback (or in a palanquin)—except he be sick (and therefore unable to dismount?).

60. Not to live within a pagoda (Fuh-Tah), except to guard it.

61. Not to conceal precious articles or money within a pagoda, except to protect them.

62. Not to enter a pagoda with leather shoes.

63. Nor to enter a pagoda carrying leather shoes.

64. Not to go round a pagoda with leather shoes on.

65. Not to enter within a pagoda wearing fu-lo.[1]

66. Not to enter a pagoda carrying his fu-lo (boots).

67. Not to eat underneath a pagoda, spreading out on the grass, or defiling the earth.

68. Not to pass under a pagoda in conveying the coffin or bier of a dead man.

69. Not to secrete a coffin or bier under a pagoda.

70. Not to burn a corpse or coffin under a pagoda.

71. Nor to burn one in front of a pagoda.

72. Not to carry a corpse round a pagoda, and burn it at any of the four sides, so that the scent may enter the building.

73. Not to take the clothes or bed of a dead man under a pagoda, except they have been washed from all impurity and properly perfumed.

74. Not to ease nature beneath a pagoda.

75. Nor to do so looking towards one.

76. Nor to do so at any of the four sides of a pagoda, so that any bad scent may enter it.

77. Not to enter a place of convenience (cloaca) with a figure of Buddha.

78. Not to clean the teeth under a pagoda.

79. Not to do so in going towards a pagoda.

[1] The Glossary explains fu-lo as short hunting boots, *i. e.*, boots with the tops turning over.

80. Nor to do so in going round at any of the four sides of a pagoda.

81. Not to spit or cry beneath a pagoda.

82. Nor in going toward a pagoda.

83. Nor at either of the four sides in going round a pagoda.

84. Not to squat down on one's heels in the direction of a pagoda.

85. Not to place (a figure of) Buddha in a lower chamber, myself residing in an upper one.

86. Not to preach on behalf of a man who is sitting whilst I stand, unless sick.

87. Nor whilst he is lying and I sitting, except sick.

88. Nor to preach to anyone sitting on a chair whilst I am not seated, except sick.

89. Nor will I preach to anyone sitting in a higher seat than myself, unless sick.

90. Nor will I preach to anyone going before me, except sick.

91. Nor will I preach to anyone going along a higher path than the one I am in, except sick.

92. Nor will I preach to anyone who is going along a good path whilst I am in a bad one.

93. Not to join hands when walking along the road.

94. Not to place or erect (boughs of) trees over men's heads, except on occasion of (severe heat of) weather.

95. Not to wrap up the alms-bowl (patra) in a cotton covering and tie it to the top of the staff, but to carry it fastened over the shoulder in travelling.

96. A man holding a staff ought not to have the Law explained on his account, except sick.

97. Nor when holding a sword.

98. Nor when holding a spear, except sick.

99. Nor when holding a knife, except sick.

100. Nor when holding a covering of any sort,[1] except sick.

[1] *i. e.*, an umbrella.

Excellent Sirs! I have thus recited the chung hioh laws (Sekhiyá damma); I now ask you all if this assembly is pure [three times.] Great Sirs! this assembly is pure! silently, therefore! so let it be.

Excellent Sirs! these seven "mieh tsang" laws (laws which destroy litigation. Adhikarana-samatá-dhamma), taken from the middle of the Book of Precepts, are to be recited bi-monthly.

If a Bikshu be embroiled in a subject or business leading to litigation, he ought to suppress and put an end to it.

THE SEVEN "MIEH TSANG" LAWS.

1. If it be a case that requires the presence of the parties, let the parties be present.[1]

2. If the case requires thought and deliberation, let there be deliberation.

3. If the case require plain and exact sentences, then let there be precision.

4. If the case requires independent decision, then let there be sentence given.

5. If the case may be decided by precedent, then let it be so decided.

6. If the case may be decided by a majority, then let it be so.

7. And in all cases let it be decided finally.[2]

Excellent Sirs! I have thus repeated the seven Mieh-Tsang laws (adhikarana-samatâ); I now demand of you all, Is this assembly pure? [three times]. Brethren! this assembly is pure; silently, therefore, ye stand. So let it be.

Worthy Sirs! I have thus recited the Preface to the Sûtra of Precepts; I have repeated the four Po-lo-i rules (Párájiká), the thirteen Sang-ka-hi-shi-sha (Sanghádisesá) laws, the two Puh-tenglaws (Aniyata dhámma), the thirty Ni-sah-che-po-yih-ti laws (nissagiyâ-pachittiyá-dhamma), the

[1] The expression pi-ni, in the original, seems to be a derivative of "viniyunajmi," to accuse any one.

[2] This translation is very uncertain.

ninety Po-yi-to laws (Pachittiya dhamma) the four Po-lo-ti-ti-shi-ni laws (Patidesani dhamma), the one hundred Hioh laws (sekhiya dhamma), the seven Mieh-tsang laws (adhikarana samatá dhamma). These, all taken from the Sûtra of Precepts, are those which Buddha has declared ought to be repeated bi-monthly.

If there be any other laws of Buddha not herein contained, —this assembly is well agreed,—they ought to be observed.

7. THE DAILY MANUAL OF THE SHAMAN.

The Pratimôksha, as we have stated, embodies a system of rules for the discipline of Buddhist priests living in community. The shaman, *i. e.* the convert, is also provided with rules for his private or personal life. There are given in a work known as the *Daily use of the Shaman*, which seems to correspond to the *Dina Chariyáwa* of the Singalese.[1] The book is divided into five sections: the first, called "chi-sung," contains a series of hymns or chants, to be recited by the shaman in the course of the day, whilst discharging his various duties. In the preface to the work it is stated that the hymns or gâthas are taken from the sections of the "Tsing-hing," *i. e.*, the Brâhmana sections, which occur in many of the Sutrâs.[2] The "dharani," or "secret words," are taken from the "Dharmagupta"[3] school; whilst the general instructions are strictly in unison with the spirit of the Vinaya, or earliest code of doctrine and discipline known to the Buddhists. The present section will contain a *précis* of this work: the section following it will be devoted to a consideration of the actual system, as it is exemplified in one of the principal sects of Buddhism in China.

1. On awaking in the morning, let the Shaman sit up in

[1] Vide Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 24.

[2] For example, in the Dhammapada and the Mahâ-pari-Nirvâna-Sûtra (in the latter called Fan-hing).

[3] Mi-pou. I take this to be for Fah-mi-pou.

a grave posture, and with a meditative heart, recite the following Gâtha:

"On first awaking from my sleep,
I ought to pray that every breathing thing
May wake to saving wisdom, vast
As the wide and boundless universe."

Having finished this Gâtha, recite the following secret sentence:

Om! Ti-li-jih-li![1] Svâh.

[To be repeated seven times.]

2. On hearing the convent bell, or striking it oneself, let all recite the following Gâtha:

"Oh! may the music of this Bell extend throughout the mystic world,
And, heard beyond the iron walls and gloomy glens of earth,
Produce in all a perfect rest, and quiet every care,
And guide each living soul to lose itself in Mind Supreme."

Om! ka-lo-ti-ye.[2] Svâh.

[To be repeated seven times: moreover, add this reflection on hearing the sound of the convent bell, that sorrow is short, but supreme wisdom enduring; when true knowledge (Bôdhi) springs into life, then we escape Hell, and come out of the fiery lake; oh! that our perfect Buddha would rescue all living creatures, and complete the end of his mission!"

Whoever hears the bell, should arise at once from his bed, and sit up; if he encourages a lazy inclination, and rises not, he courts the attack of sin. An old priest says:

"Whoever hears the Bell and rises not,
His guardian angel flies away in wrath,
And leaves the wretched man to present misery,
And after death to writhe in serpent shape."

But if a man is sick, and rises not, there is no sin.]

3. On getting out of bed recite the following Gâtha:

"On putting down my foot and standing up,
Oh! let me pray that every living soul
May gain complete release of mind and self,
And so, in perfect Rest, stand up unmoved!"

[1] Tara-jala?
[2] Gardye? from "gard," to resound.

Then say:

"From earliest dawn till setting sun,
Each living soul might tend to self-advance,
Reflecting thus: 'My foot firm planted on the earth,
Should make me think, am I
Advancing on my road to Heaven?'"

Then repeat seven times:

"Om! Yih-ti-liu-ni.[1] Svâh."

4. On putting on one's clothes say this Gâtha:

"Assuming this my upper robe,
I pray that every living soul,
Obtaining the most perfect principle,
May reach the other shore of Life."[2]

"Assuming this my under robe,
I pray that every living soul,
Attaining every virtuous principle,
May perfect in himself true penitence."

"On binding on the sash, I pray
That every living soul may closely bind
Each virtuous principle around himself,
And never loosen it or let it go."

5. On walking, so as not to crush an insect, say:

"As thus I walk upon my feet,
I pray that every living soul,
Emerging from the sea of life and death,
May soon attain the fulness of the Law."

Then say:

"Om! ti-li-jih-li. Svâh."
[Seven times.]

6. On washing one's face, say:

"As thus I wash my face, I pray
That every living soul may gain
Religious knowledge, which admits
Of no defilement, through eternity."

[1] Jitrouni (?)

[2] "Of the Law," where "Dharma" denotes a superior condition of existence.

Then say:

"Om! lam! Svâh!

[To be repeated seven times.]

7. On drinking water, say the following secret words:

"Om! fu-sih-po-lo-mo-ni. Svâh."[1]

[To be repeated seven times; Buddha beheld in one vessel of water 84,000 insects; if these secret words be not repeated when drinking, the guilt will be the same as if one ate the flesh of animals.]

8. On putting on the five garments, say:

"Hail! robes of final and complete release,
Fit robes for those whose happiness is unsurpassed:
I take these vestments to me reverently,
For ever and for ever, mine;"[2]

[Similar verses are to be repeated on taking the other garments.]

9. On spreading out the mat, say:

"This mat,[3] designed for purposes of Rest,
And to promote the growth of holiest principles,
I spread upon the sacred Earth
In reverence to Tathâgata's command."

Om! Tan-po-tan-po. Svâh.

10. On entering within the sacred precincts, say:[4]

"As I enter within this sacred enclosure,
I pray that every living soul,
Aspiring to the Highest Court (for worship),
May find complete repose, and rest unmoved and fixed."

[1] Vasibrâhmani?

[2] The robes of a Buddhist priest can never be taken from him except he is degraded from his office by the superior priests. *Eastern Monachism*, p. 127.

[3] Ni-sse-tan is probably a form of the Sanscrit "Nisâdin" or "nisadyâ."

[4] Literally the "precincts of Reason," *i. e.*, the place of immediate worship, or the neighbourhood of the altar.

"Beholding the figure of Buddha,
I pray that every living thing,
Acquiring sight without defect,
May gaze upon the form of 'all the Buddhas.'"[1]

11. On bowing down before Buddha, say:

"King of the Law, the most exalted Lord,
Unequalled through the threefold world,
Teacher and Guide of Men and Gods,
Our loving Father, and of all that breathes,
I bow myself in lowest reverence, and pray
That thou wouldest soon destroy the power of former works (*i. e.*, destiny).[2]
To set forth all thy praise
Unbounded Time would not suffice."

Om! fah-jih-lo-hoh.[3] (Seven times.)

[Repeat also the Gâthas of Manjusri Bôdhisatwa: "The object worshiped and the worshipper are both as to their nature spiritual;[4] it is difficult to investigate the relation between subject and predicate; but now I look upon this sacred precinct as a costly gem (mirror); within it I behold the forms of all the Buddhas, and my body stands in the presence of the Buddhas, and thus upon my face I worship them" (and substitute the name of any other object of worship, whether it be a Bôdhisatwa, or the law itself.)]

12. On worshipping a Tope (pagoda) say:

"Seeing a sacred Tope,[5]
I pray that every living thing
May, like this sacred building,
Honour'd be by Gods and men, and more."

[Such verses as the above would be tedious to record at any greater length; they are all of the same general character, embodying a prayer or vow which breathes a spirit

[1] That is, may enjoy "beatific vision." The phrase "yih tsai Fuh," "all the Buddhas," is equivalent to our idea of the "Supreme."

[2] This line presents several difficulties; it may be translated "quickly thou destroyest the Karma of asankhêya of ages."

[3] Vâdjra (?)

[4] Empty—silent.

[5] A stûpa containing relics of Buddha.

of goodwill to all. The other occasions given in the manual are these: (13) On bowing towards a Tope. (14) On circumambulating a Tope. (15) On reading the Scriptures. (16) On taking the religious staff. (17) On going to beg. (18) On walking along the road. (19) On entering a village. (20) On arriving at a door. (21) On being invited within a house. (22) When no charity is given. (23) When charity is given. (24) On seeing the alms-bowl still empty. (25) On emptying an alms-bowl of the food in it. (26) On seeing a full alms-bowl. (27) When delicious food has been collected. (28) Or when objectionable food has been collected. (29) On holding the bowl. (30) Or partaking of food. (31) On concluding a meal. (32) On receiving any religious contribution. (33) On cleaning the teeth. (34) On washing the alms-bowl. (35) On shaving the head. (36) On attending to the various calls of nature. (37) On washing the hands. (38) On entering a bath. (39) On washing the feet. (40) On arranging the sitting mat. (41) On sitting down to meditate. (42) On leaving the state of meditation (samadhi). (43) On going to rest.

8. THE TIAN-TA'I SCHOOL OF BUDDHISM.

To conclude the present section, in which we are considering the Religious character of the Buddhist system, I purpose to give a brief outline of the teaching of a school known as the "Tian-Tai" sect, in China. "There is no Buddhist establishment better known in China than Tiǎn-Tǎi. The place itself has much natural beauty; but its interest, so far as it is historical, centres chiefly round the ancient priest, called Chi-K'ai,[1] who founded the system.

[1] Otherwise called "Chi-chay." The following brief memoir of this celebrated monk I take from another part of the Almanac.

"Chin che-k'hae, otherwise called Che-chay (the Wise one), dwelt originally at Hwa-yung in Honan; his father was in the service of a royal personage. At fifteen years of age he made a vow, in the presence of an image at Chang-sha, that he would become a priest. About this time he dreamt that he saw a high hill in the middle of the ocean, on

The cluster of hills that compose T'an-tai (in the province of Cheh-kiang) terminate abruptly to the south-west. An imposing hill, called Chih-cheng, crowned with a pagoda, is conspicuous from the time-worn walls of Tian-Tai, 180 miles S.W. of Hang-cheu. This is the southern extremity of the hilly region known by the same name. From a valley on its left flows a mountain stream, which, after traversing the plain, arrives at the city just named, and thence bending to the S.E., arrives at Tai-cheu, and after a short course of ten or fifteen miles, pours its waters into the ocean.

It was up one of the feeders of this stream that Chi-k'ai, near the end of the sixth century, wended his way in search of a lonely mountain residence suited to his meditative cast of mind. He was travelling in a region threaded by few paths, and in a direction that seemed to lead nowhere, but further away from the habitations of men. In this wilderness of hills and valleys, occupying many square miles, although unknown to the agriculturist, he yet found some few residing whose views of human life were congenial to his own. Local tradition points out the spot where he lived and reflected. An antique mausoleum, with a long inscription of the Sui dynasty, marks the place where his ashes were deposited. At a little distance from it, the Kau-ming monastery comes into view. It is in a deep valley, shut in

the summit of which was a priest beckoning to him with his hand, and who received him into his arms on the top of the hill. At eighteen he quitted all worldly connexions and entered a monastery. After some years, having heard that Theen-t'hae (Tian-tai) was a most romantic spot, he wished to settle there in order to carry out his intention of founding a system. The Emperor commanded him to remain in Nanking, but he refused compliance. This occurred A.D. 575. When he arrived at Theen-thae, he settled near the Kwo-tsing monastery. The Emperor thrice recalled him, but in vain. He finally settled in this region, and published seventy-six distinct works, all of which, in the year 1024 A.D., were admitted into the Chinese Buddhist Canon. The Pagoda containing the remains of Che-k'hae (Chi-chay) is still standing on a part of the Theen-thae range, and many miracles are reported to have been wrought at this shrine."

all round by wooded heights. The visitor is shewn a large square silk garment, the cloak worn by Chi-kai. A metal bowl, worn by long use, is another curiosity. A Sanscrit manuscript is another.[1]

Chi-kai continued his wanderings in this elevated region, where the valleys do not sink further than 1500 feet above the sea level, and which is, by its loneliness, well suited for the ascetic. Solitude reigns here, for many miles round, in one of the most densely populated provinces of China. No fewer than twelve monasteries mark the spots where he formed a cottage of stone and straw, or caused a modest building to be erected. It was, however, at a place called Si-tsoh, not far from the present Wan-nian monastery, that he composed the system of doctrine called "Chi-Kwan," which has ever since distinguished his school. He had in early life followed the teaching of the contemplative school, which had been established in China by Bodhidharma, the wall-gazing Brahman; but afterwards, being dissatisfied with this system, which discarded all book learning and rejected everything external, he formed the outlines of another system, which he taught to multitudes of admiring disciples."[2]

The system of Chi-kai was founded on the principles advocated in the Tchong-Lun (Prânyamûla Sâstra Tîka), written by Nagardjuna, which rejects all antitheses, and endeavours to find the central truth or central method in the conciliation of antinomies. The true method is found neither in book learning, nor external practice, nor ecstatic contemplation; neither in the exercise of Reason, nor the reveries of fancy; but there is a middle condition, a system which includes all and rejects none, to which all others gravitate, and

[1] This MS. is said to be written on palm leaves, and was once read and explained by Chi-kai. It is now unintelligible to the priests. The leaves are written on both sides, and are carefully let into slips of wood, which are fitted on the same central pin, and the whole, amounting to fifty leaves, are enclosed in a rosewood box. They are still in a state of perfect preservation. (Shanghai Almanac.)

[2] Shanghai Almanac, 1857.

in which alone the soul can be satisfied. The term "Chi-kwan," by which the Tian Tai system is generally known, has been sometimes translated by the words "fixed contemplation"; but, as we shall find from the work itself, the true meaning of the phrase is "knowledge and meditation," implying that both the one and the other are necessary for arriving at perfection. This idea is also plainly referred to in the Dhammapada (372). "Without knowledge there is no meditation, without meditation there is no knowledge; he who has knowledge and meditation is near Nirvâna."[1]

A recent visitor to one of the monasteries of this district makes the following remarks:—"Having descended from the Pagoda of Chi-chay, we passed along a most romantic and wild pathway, which brought us to the monastery Kwo-tsing-sze. We found this to be one of the largest about these hills, and the priests both numerous and respectable. The Superior was a middle-aged man of considerable energy, and surrounded by a number of persons well acquainted with the system of Buddha.

The argument maintained here was that all systems were alike and all led to the same result.[2] One of the priests, in the evening, maintained a very lively and interesting conversation regarding the peculiarities of Buddhism. He spoke of attaining the state of Nirvâna, in which a man would have no more to do with the past or the present, with happiness or misery, with production or annihilation. He was asked if men had anything to do *now* with production and annihilation? To which he replied in the affirmative, adding that at birth our lives are produced, and at death annihilated; so with all the works of art, when we make them they are produced; when we destroy them they are annihilated. We suggested to him that in the production of things we do not create them out of nothing, nor at their destruction can we reduce them

[1] Max Müller's version, *Buddhaghosha's Parables*, CLX.

[2] This is the "middle method," advocated in the Shaster alluded to above.

to nothing. This was a new idea to him; but he contended that when a candle is burnt out it is annihilated, and when any material substance is reduced to atoms it ceases to be. As he still continued to maintain his position, he was asked how many elements there are? to which he answered four, viz., fire, air, earth, and water. He was then asked whether, if a portion of the earth were burnt, it must necessarily be annihilated, and whether it might not still exist in the form of air, though invisible to us? He acknowledged that it might be so. He was then told that philosophers in the present day had proved that it was so, and that nothing could be annihilated by the art of man. So, also, nothing could be made by the art of man without something previously existing out of which to make it. That, in fact, there was only one who could create and destroy, and that was God, from whom all things sprang, and to whom all honour and obedience were due."

On the next day the discussion was renewed. "We told the priests that it appeared to us, from their own classics, that they knowledged no Creator or origin of things; that the universe with them seemed to be a succession of changes, without beginning or end, without author or aim. Our Buddhist friends did not like to acknowledge this, but they were obliged to own that such was the fact. They were then shewn the impropriety of such a Godless system, and the necessity of worshipping and relying on one Supreme. The Buddhist said that his heart was the Supreme. Your heart, it was replied, is not the ruler of mine, nor of that belonging to anyone else. There is One, however, who rules over your heart and mine, as well as over all the world, even the Lord of lords.........How, then, can you say that your heart and the Supreme are the same?

He then said that Buddha was Supreme. He was asked what Buddha? Amida Buddha? That was a fabulous being. Shakyamuni Buddha? That was a mere mortal, who was born and died like other men, and who never displayed anything of a Divine power."

The conversation then turned upon the real object of worship among the Buddhists, whether it was Buddha himself, or the image which represented him. They asserted that Buddhists were divided into three classes: the superior class worshipped Buddha without the intervention of any image; the middle class worshipped him through the medium of images; the inferior class never worshipped at all. For themselves, they said they could worship without any image, and they thought it best to do so. We asked them what was the need of images? They said they were necessary for the vulgar, who could not be induced to attend to Religion without such aids......and that such persons would never rise, and must therefore be left as they were."[1]

From this quotation we gain some insight into the belief of these Tian-tai priests. We also see the defects of our own method of argument with them. The priest who spoke of "production" and "annihilation," and that Nirvâna consists in the absence of these, did, in fact, only repeat the well known argument found in the Mahâ-pari-nirvâna Sûtra.[2] A work of art—a vase, for example—is certainly produced, and may be certainly annihilated, by the will of man. The clay is not the vase, but the vase is produced from the clay. The fragments of the shattered pitcher are not a pitcher, but they *were* so once. The pitcher, *quâ* pitcher, is annihilated. The vase, *quâ* vase, is produced. And it is precisely this kind of production and of annihilation that the Buddhists regard as constituting a condition of constant change, and therefore of Sorrow. The Tian-tai priest spoke of Nirvâna as consisting in the *absence* of such conditions, but he did not say that it consisted in the absence of all existence. And, in fact, from his remark made afterwards that his own Heart (âtman) was supreme, and the same as the Supreme Heart (paramâtman), it is plain that he did not believe that the annihilation of which he spoke was the destruction of *existence*, but merely the destruction of that which is chang-

[1] "Trip to Ning-po and T'heen-t'hae." (Shanghai Almanac, 1857.)
[2] Vide p. 173 of the present work.

ing and perishable. There are constant allusions to this subject in the Sûtra alluded to above,[1] and it seems plain that this is the true belief of the best informed Buddhists.

The work of which I proceed to give a brief extract, viz., the "Siau-chi-kwan," was written by Chi-kai in the Siu-shan Temple in the Tian-tai hills, and was reprinted from the Canon in the second year of Keaking (A.D. 1798). The preface states that there were originally four works written by Chi-kai on the subject of "Chi-kwan" (knowledge and meditation), of which the present work was the last, and therefore was the completion of his labours. With reference to the phrase Chi-kwan, the preface adds that it means precisely the same as ten-hwui (absolute wisdom), or as tsih-chau (passive-splendour, a common phrase for the supreme condition of Nirvâna, a condition, viz., which admits of effulgency united with passivity), or as ming-tsing (brightness and rest).[2] [From which we gather that "Chi-kwan"

[1] Compare, *e. g.*, the assertion in the fourth Kiouen and eighth page. "Destroy the sources of sorrow, and this is Nirvâna; as fire is destroyed and has no further being, so destroy sorrow, and there will be rest." Compare, also, with this the words of Prof. Max Müller (Dhammapada, XLI). "Nirvâna may mean the extinction of many things—of selfishness, desire, and sin, without going so far as the extinction of subjective consciousness." There are some gâthas on the subject on the next page of the Mahâ-pari-Nirvâna Sûtra.

"Just as the heated bar of iron,
Hammer'd, emits the star-like sparks
Which, scattered everywhere, are lost,
And have no further place of being,
But are got rid of and destroyed for aye:
So also is Nirvâna.
Having destroyed all lustful desire,
And all unholy attachments,
We reach a condition of Rest,
Beyond the limit of any human knowledge."

[2] These various phrases occur constantly in the later scholastic works on Buddhism. The aim of all is to denote the union, in one substance or Being, of the two conditions of active exertion and of imperturbable Rest; as the Moon, which constantly emits rays or reflects light, and yet is ever substantially at Rest. The Syrian Christians, who esta-

denotes that condition of being, which admits of a union of knowledge and meditative repose.]

Chi-kai begins his work with the following well known Gâtha—

> "Scrupulously avoiding all wicked actions,
> Reverently performing all virtuous ones,
> Purifying this intention from all selfish desire,
> Is the doctrine of all the Buddhas."

(He then proceeds)—"Although a man may earnestly desire to enter the path to Nirvâna and studiously pursue the directions of the various discourses (Shasters) on the subject, he may nevertheless miss altogether attaining his desired aim. Now the two laws contained in the idea of chi-kwan are simply these: that which is spoken of as chi (fixity) is the first mode (or, gate to Nirvâna), and consists in overcoming all the entanglements of mind; that which is called kwan (meditation) is the Rest which follows or accompanies the separation of mind from all external influences. Once "fixed," a man will tenderly foster the good principles of knowledge (heart-knowledge). Possessed of true meditation, a man has gained the mysterious art of liberating his spiritual nature (his soul). The first is the excellent cause of absolute mental-repose,[1] whilst the second is the fruitful result of Supreme Wisdom. A man perfect in wisdom and in meditation, he is thoroughly provided by his own advantage to advantage the world. Hence, the *Lotus of the Law* says: "Buddha, self-established as the great vehicle, was

blished themselves in China, and erected a monument commemorating the progress of Christianity in that country (A.D. 718), use similar phrases in their attempt to define the Nature of God, *e.g.*, in the first words of the monument "the Everlasting and yet the truly passive" (shang jen chan tsih), where "chan tsih" is a purely Buddhist phrase denoting Nirvâna.

[1] It is impossible to translate literally Buddhist phrases which relate to the various conditions of mental being; the words translated "absolute mental repose" refer to the condition of Samadhi (teng), resulting from "meditation" (dhyâna; Ch. shan.)

thus himself an attainable Law (for others), himself adorned with the might of meditation and wisdom, by these was enabled to save mankind."

So these two powers are like the two wheels of a chariot, or the two wings of a bird; a man who practises himself in both, forthwith destroys the power of error; hence the Sûtra says: "if a man with a one-sided aim acquire merit by meditation, and do not learn wisdom, he is called 'foolish'; and if he learn wisdom without practising meditation, he is called 'deluded.'" And another Sûtra says: "A Srâvaka, because he has great power of self-composure, does not necessarily arrive at (see) the Nature of Buddha;[1] nor does Shi-chu Bodhisatwa, although by the power of Wisdom he may arrive at (or see) the Nature of Buddha, necessarily understand the Nature of all the Buddha Tathâgatas." But whoever has completely mastered both the practice of meditation and the acquirement of wisdom, that man has accomplished his great aim, and shall certainly arrive at Nirvâna. [And much more to the same effect.]

Now, for the purpose of assisting those who wish to practise these two principles (chi kwan), we have put together the following brief sections:—

I. Accomplishment of external means. These are five. (1) Observing the Precepts[2] purely and perfectly: there

[1] To see the Nature of Buddha is a phrase indicating a knowledge of the principles of the "Great Vehicle" (mahâyana), which was an advance on the old scheme known as the "incomplete vehicle" (hinayana). The latter spoke only of the "qualities" (siang) of things, and therefore taught that when the distinctive qualities of a thing were destroyed or dissolved, that the thing perished; the former taught that there was something underlying the qualities; that something was at first spoken of as "the Law of its existence" (fah; dharma; that which makes a thing what it is); afterwards it was called its "Nature" (sing). Finally, it was declared that each thing has not a distinct Nature, but that the Nature of all things is the same as the Nature of Buddha; and, by a further step, the last stage of Buddhist speculation was reached, which was, that the Nature of Buddha is the same as the Nature of "all the Buddhas," *i.e.*, of the Universe.

[2] That is, the ten commandments.

are three classes of persons who keep the Precepts, who are not the same.

(*a*) If a man, before becoming a disciple of Buddha, has not been guilty of the five sins (murder, adultery, theft, slander (falsehood of any sort), drunkenness), and, after meeting with a Teacher, has adopted the five additional Rules and taken refuge in Buddha, the Law, and the Church; if such a man, having left his house and received ordination, persuade others to follow his example, and himself live blamelessly in his profession, this man belongs to the superior class of those who observe the Precepts. Such a man, engaging in the practice of chi-kwan, will arrive at the condition (fah, dharma) of Buddha as easily as a pure garment is dyed by the dyer.

(*b*) The second class of persons are those who, having received ordination,[1] continue in their duty as to chief matters, but yet offend in some minor points, and so have occasion constantly to practise the rules of penance; these are like cloth covered with defilement, which must be washed before it is dyed.

(*c*) The third class of persons are those who, after ordination, have transgressed wilfully.[2] Under the Little Vehicle there was no room for such persons to repent; but under the system of the Great Vehicle,[3] he may recover himself.

Those who, having sinned thus, and who seek for Recovery by Repentance, must observe the following rules:—

(*a*) They must revive their faith in rewards and punishments.

[1] Undertaken the ten precepts. The character of Buddhist ordination is fully explained by Bishop Bigandet (*Legend of the Burmese Gaudama*, 503); also by F. Spiegel in his Latin translation of the Kamavakya from the Pali.

[2] I am compressing the full translation of this work, which lies before me, into a short compass. To trangress wilfully alludes to the pârâjika sins of the Pratimôksha.

[3] The distinction of this development was that all men, possessing the Nature of Buddha, should eventually be saved; and therefore it excludes no one from repentance.

(β) They must encourage in themselves a feeling of deep shame for their sin.

(γ) They must be filled with a sense of reverence and fear.

(δ) They must desire to destroy occasions of sin; or, as the Law says, "shape their conduct according to Religion."

(ε) They must confess their sins without reserve.

(ζ) They must cut off all sinful inclinations (or heart-leanings to sin).

(η) They must excite in themselves a jealousy for Religion (the Law, or a desire to protect the Law).

(θ) They must promote in themselves a desire to see all men arrive at salvation.

(κ) They must constantly invoke "all the Buddhas."

(λ) They must consider the "deadness" (unproductiveness) of the nature of sin.

If a man is able to observe these ten Rules, and at the same time attend scrupulously to the external duties of Religion—such as adorning the altar, cleansing his person, and clothed in pure garments, scattering flowers and burning incense in honour of the three gems, as the Law directs—thus doing, for a week, for three weeks, for a month, three months, till a whole year be past—finding then that he has thoroughly repented of his crime, and that the hold of evil is utterly destroyed in him, then he is Fixed (*i. e.*, restored to purity). But by what marks may he know that the power of evil is destroyed? If the disciple, at the time when he has thus repented with all his heart, realise the vanity (light profit) of earthly engagements (lit. of body and heart), obtain propitious dreams, and moreover experience (observe) the various indications of inward spiritual tokens, and awake to a sense of the development of virtuous principles ("virtuous heart," in opposition to "body-heart"), and, as he sits in contemplation, perceives his body to be as a cloud or a shadow, and thus gradually attain to the limits of the different dhyânas, and if again he thoroughly understand the character of the enlightened condition of mind

which exhibits itself by immediate recognition of sacred truth, so that on opening the Scriptures their true meaning at once flashes into the heart, and in consequence of this condition he enjoy true Peace, by such proofs as these he may assuredly know that the root of his sin which led to transgression and spiritual deadness is utterly destroyed. From this time forth, resolutely holding to the Laws of purity called Sîla (perfect compliance with all the rules of the Vinaya), he may then practise the way of Samâdhi (*i. e.*, prepare himself for arriving at spiritual perfection), as the torn and dirty robe, when mended and washed, is again fit for use.

But if a man have broken the great commandments, and so fear prevent him from arriving at "fixed contemplation" (*i. e.*, complete abstraction of mind), and he does not follow the directions of the Sacred Books in framing his religious life; yet if he be only sensible of a profound reverence in the presence of the three Gems (the Triratna—Buddha, the Law, the Church), search out and bring to light his former sins, cut off the secret springs of it that entwine his heart, and, as he sits in reflection continually, realise the nature of sin as being empty (vain or dead), and so concentrate his thoughts on the Buddhas of the ten regions (*i. e.*, "all the Buddhas," or the "Supreme"), and when he breaks off from his meditation, immediately resorts with perfect intention to the burning of incense, and bodily worship, and with contrite heart recite the precepts and intone the sacred Books of the Great conveyance, and so the obstacles that prevented his religious advancement, and the causes of his grievous sin, be gradually overcome and destroyed, because of this, arriving at purity, the power of contemplation will expand and increase. Hence the Sûtra called the Miau-shing-teng (Surañgama Samâdhi ?) says: "If a man, because he has transgressed the greater commandments, be filled with fear, and desiring to destroy the power of sin, seek to do so by the practice of intense thought, which, after all, being imperfect, is ineffectual to

the desired end, such a man ought to take up his abode in a desert spot (live in a pansal), and, holding his mind in check, continue to sit and recite the Scriptures of the Great Vehicle, till he find the entire weight of sin removed and destroyed, and the various powers of abstract contemplation, self-originated, come into his possession."

II. The second external means relates to clothing and food. Now, with respect to the first, there are three rules. (1.) That which relates to the one garment worn by the great teachers of the Snowy Mountains (the school of the Haîmavatas ?), barely sufficient to cover the body, (who) by excluding themselves from the society of men, aimed to perfect themselves in the virtue of endurance (patience, kshânti). (2.) That which relates to Kâsyapa (or, the school of the Kâsyapîyas, which is the same as that of the Âryastha viras, from whom the Haîmavatas proceeded), who always observed the Dhûta Rules[1] about dress, which require that only such garments shall be used as are made from cloth defiled in various ways,[2] and of these only three of a prescribed length. (3.) That which relates to those who live in very cold countries and who are of imperfect powers of endurance—to these Tathâgata allowed other garments besides the three, and other things in strict moderation.

With respect to food there are four Rules. (1.) That which relates to the great professors of the higher order, who live in mountain depths remote from men, and feed on vegetables and fruits according to their season. (2.) That

[1] The Dhûta rules, known as the "teles-dhútanga" in the South (from teles, thirteen; dhûta, destroyed; and anga, ordinance; meaning the thirteen ordinances by which the cleaving to existence is destroyed), and in China as the "chi eul theou tho," are given by Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 9; and by Rémusat, *Fo-koue-ki*, p. 60; vide also Burnouf, *Introd.*, p. 304.

[2] This is the first of the thirteen Dhûta Rules, and is called "pansukulikanga": this precept orders that all cloth for garments for priests should be either picked up in a cemetery, or polluted in some way, or thrown away and discarded on account of its worthlessness. Vide *Eastern Monachism*, p. 118.

which relates to those who continually observe the Dhûta rules in reference to the food they have begged.[1] (3.) The food allowed to an Aranyaka (hermit) to be received from his Danapati (patron). (4.) The pure food allowed to the priesthood when living in community.

III. The third external means relates to the possession of a pure place of abode. With reference to the word "hien" as signifying a place of abode (pansala ?), it is a place where no business is transacted, and where there are no contentions or disputes; so it is called a peaceable place; there are three descriptions of such places, (1) in some deep mountain ravine, remote from human intercourse; (2), in some forest resort (Aranya)[2] where the "dhûta" rules may be followed; this place must be at least three or four li (half a mile or more) from a village,[3] so as to be removed from any sound of worldly business or contention; (3), in a spot at a distance from a place where laymen live, in the midst of a quiet Sangharama; all these places are called peaceable and calm abodes.

IV. The fourth external means relates to freedom from all worldly concerns and influences. There are four things to be avoided under this head. (1.) To desist from all share in ruling or governing a people, so as not to incur any responsibility connected with the mode of discharging the trust. (2.) To desist from all worldly friendships, and all social or family connexions. (3.) Not to follow any trade or art, whether of medicine, sorcery, or other persuasion. (4.)

[1] For these rules, vide *Eastern Monachism*, § ix, *passim*.

[2] The eighth of the thirteen ordinances (teles dhûtanga) is called "Aranyakanga." The word "aranya" means a forest. The priest who keeps this ordinance cannot reside near a village, but must remain in the forest. (Vide for other particulars, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 133.)

[3] The constant use of the word "village," both in the Chinese and Pali canonical books, as denoting "a place of assembly" or "an inhabited place," seems to show that the establishment of Buddhist religious fraternities in India was followed by the formation of a secular society in the same neighbourhood; just as the "church" or "Llan" amongst ourselves drew to its vicinity the town or village that took its name from the religious foundation.

To desist from all professional engagements connected with worldly learning, discussion, instruction, and so on.

V. The fifth external means relates to the promotion of all virtuous knowledge, of which there are three divisions. (1.) Taking care of all religious books. (2.) Endeavouring to promote agreement amongst religious persons, so that there shall be no division or confusion. (3) Endeavouring to transmit and inculcate, by every expedient of mind and action, the true principles of virtuous knowledge.

We have thus briefly glanced at the five sorts of preparatory observances requisite for the final acquisition of "Chi-Kwan."

2. ON CHIDING THE EVIL DESIRES.

These evil desires are five: every one who enters on the practice of meditation with a view to perfect himself in the system called chi-kwan, must overcome these desires. They are commonly known in the world as the lust after beauty, sound, smell, taste, touch; by the delusive influences of these passions men (the different worldly teachers) foster in themselves the growth of concupiscence (trishna), but if they are able to understand thoroughly the folly (sin) of such indulgences, so as not to permit their existence in their own case, this is called "chiding the evil desires."

The first effort is to be made against the lust after beauty; that is to say, the beautiful form of man or woman: the painted eyes, the graceful neck, the bright-red lips, the pearl-white teeth; and also the various attractive colours of worldly treasures, such as blue and yellow, red and white, etc., all which are the causes of besotment, and by producing a phrenzy of love result in every kind of evil karma. So it was Bimbasara Râjah was born in his enemy's country as a mistress in the harem of Avâmbra (ho-fan-po-lo) on account of his lustful propensities; so also Udâyana Râjah, besotted by lust, cut off the hands and feet of the five hundred Rishis, and thus incurred every kind of retributive punishment.

The second effort is to be made against the lust of sound, in which is included the love of music, whether of the lute (k'hung how), or guitar, or the musical bamboo pipes, or of golden instruments (gongs or cymbals), or of the musical stone, and of the voice of singing men or singing women; all these are calculated to produce a clouded and besotted mind in the case of those who hear them, and so result in an evil karma. Thus it was the five hundred Rishis who dwelt in the Snowy mountains, by listening to the singing of the Gandharva nymphs, lost their power of mental abstraction, and their hearts became beclouded and confused. Thus, and in other ways, we may know the evil consequences of fondness for "sound."

The third effort is to be made against fondness for perfumes, such as the perfumed persons of men or women, or the smell of food, or the seasonings of food; in short, every kind of pleasant aroma which foolish men delighting in, forthwith are entangled in the trammels of lust. Thus it was that Bikshu, dwelling beside the Lotus-tank, perceiving the delicious scent of the flowers, his heart was filled with lust, and so he fell in love with the Spirit of the Tank (the Naiad), and incurred the gravest guilt (caused a great scandal). Is it right, then, to be careless about this matter, when by it such consequences may ensue? Surely this consideration should cause those who are indifferent (asleep) to rouse themselves. By these and other considerations we may learn the evil consequences of fondness for perfumes.

The fourth effort is to be made against the lust of taste; that is to say, the taste of bitter, sour, sweet, salt, fresh, and so on; all species of highly flavoured and tasty meats and drinks; fondness for such things will cause the mind to become cloudy and impure, and so create every kind of evil karma, like the Srâmanêra (novice), who was so infatuated with the love of cream, that at the end of his life he was born again as one of the small insects that live in cream. By these and other considerations we may learn the evil consequences of fondness for delicate or tasty food.

The fifth effort is to be made against the love of touch; that is to say, the soft or silky feel of a person's body; or the love of anything warm in cold weather, or anything cold in warm weather; in short, all those pleasant sensations arising from contact which overcome the judgment of foolish and ignorant men, and raise up within them, as a result, a karma opposed to religion, as in the case of the Rishi Yih-Koh (Ekasriñga), who, by the power of this lust, lost his spiritual capabilities, and became the courtezan Ganikâ (Ki-king). By this and other considerations we may learn the evil consequences resulting from this love of touch.

These considerations respecting the forbidden desires are taken from the discourses of the Great-conveyance (Mahâ yana) School; and in these also we find the following:—Alas! for the miseries which all creatures endure constantly from these five desires! And still they seek after their indulgence, and are never satisfied! These five desires conduce to our continuance in misery, as fuel which revives and supports a fire. These five desires can bring no satisfaction, as a dog gnawing a rotten bone; they produce quarrels and fights, as birds contending for a bit of flesh; they burn, as the flame of a torch, when the wind is contrary, burns the hand; they are poisonous, as the poison of snakes; their benefit is no more than that of a dream; they last but for a moment, as the spark from the flint, and are utterly vain!—The wise man, again, considers them as hateful robbers, which hold in their bonds the foolish men of the world till they die, and after death entail on them endless miseries; these lusts are shared in common with the beasts; by their indulgence we are brought into the condition of abject slavery; these miserable lusts immerse us in the filth of the three worlds. I, then, preparing the exercise of dhyâna (religious abstraction), should drive away these hindrances, as robbers are driven away and expelled, according to the Gâthas in the Dhyâna Sûtra,

"We are still tangled in the coil of Life and Death,
Because we still indulge our taste for sinful pleasures;
We treasure up for ourselves vengeance when we die;
Vain as these pleasures are, they entail nothing but sorrow," etc.

3. CASTING AWAY HINDRANCES.

The hindrances here spoken of are five: viz., covetousness, anger, sloth, restlessness, unbelief. In the previous section we spoke of desire for external gratification, the object being in one of the five categories of sense. But now we are speaking, in brief, of the desires which are originated in the mind itself, viz., when engaged in the practice of religious duties; (1) a covetous desire; for instance, after complete wisdom; the thoughts about this will so intertwine as to becloud and impede the virtuous intentions (heart), and result in the production of an imperfect wisdom. For consider! if the animal desires, strengthening in the heart, are able (as it were) to consume the body, how much more will not the fire, which the heart itself produces by its desires, burn up every virtuous principle? The man who encourages this covetous disposition banishes reason, and drives it away; he makes the foundation of misery ever broader and broader; the heart that entertains it can never approach the border of wisdom, as it is said in the following Gâthas which relate to the subject,

"The man who has entered on the path of Reason, ashamed and wearied (of sin),
Who has taken the alms-bowl, able to confer happiness on all creatures,
How can such an one again become subject to covetous desires,
Or be soiled and besotted by the five passions?
Having once let go the indulgence of such things,
He discards them, nor ever looks back.
The man who returns to the gratification of these desires,
Is like a fool returning to his vomit;
For these desires, whilst the search lasts, are bitter,
And when gratified bring distraction and fear,

And when not obtained result in disappointment and chagrin.
There is no foundation for any happiness in them.
Such is the misery of these Desires !
But when a man has been able to give them all up,
Having gained the joys of deep mental abstraction,
There is no room left for any further delusion.

The second hindrance to be cast away is "anger:" this is indeed the origin of all religious failure; the cause of a man's falling into every evil way of existence; it is the enemy of all peace, and the great robber of the virtuous heart; the fruitful source of the gravest sins of the mouth. For thus it is the disciple, when sitting in the very act of religious contemplation, thinking on such and such a man, considers thus in his mind: "that man is a continual nuisance to me and to my friends; he seems to court my enmity;" and then he considers about past circumstances and future ones, and so he is filled with vexation, and this generates anger, and this produces hatred, and this results in a determination to retaliate; thus it is anger beclouds the heart, and so it is called a "hindrance," and should be cast away at once; and so Sakra Devana in a verse puts this question to Buddha:

"What is it destroys tranquillity and joy?
What is it destroys all contentment?
What is the root of bitterness (poison),
Which destroys every virtuous principle?"

To which Buddha replied in the following verse:—

"Destroy anger, there will be Rest and joy;
Destroy anger, there will be contentment:
Anger is the root of bitterness (poison);
Anger destroys every virtuous principle."

Thus we may gather just this, that we ought to cultivate a loving and patient disposition, and by destroying and forsaking every remnant (of anger), induce a perfect tranquillity of mind.

The third hindrance is slothful indolence. The darkness that dwells within the heart is called sloth, and the heaviness

which pervades every part of the corporeal system, inviting to sleep and laziness, this is called indolence; and hence the name slothful indolence. It is this disposition that prevents all present or future attainment of solid happiness, and stands opposed both to the happiness of heaven and the attainment of Nirvâna, so great is the destructive power of this wicked principle. So that whilst the other hindrances cause one to lose ground, this indolence makes one like a dead person, unable to hold any ground, and for this reason it is difficult to extirpate and destroy. As Buddha, when enlarging on this very subject in the presence of the Bôdhisatwas, says in verse:

> "Rise from thy bed! embrace not the stinking corpse of sleep!
> Suppose the arrows of grievous disease penetrated thy body,
> And the whole collection of miseries consequent thereon, could there then be peaceful Rest?" etc.[1]

Thus, by various arguments, he chides the hindrance of slothfulness, and warns us, by shortening our hours of rest, to get rid of the cloudy influences that darken the mind, and, if necessary, to devote ourselves more and more to the practice of fixed contemplation, in order to curb and destroy the inclination to indolence.

The fourth hindrance to be cast away is restlessness and vexation. This restlessness is threefold: (1.) Restlessness of body; when one cannot be still in any position, but there is a constant inclination to get about something else, either to walk about, or to sit or to change position. (2.) Restlessness of the vocal organs, as when one is always humming or singing, or chattering or arguing. (3.) Restlessness of mind, as when one is always thinking how to excel in worldly knowledge. This is the "love of change" of which we speak, destructive of all true religion; for if the mind of the religious person cannot be firmly fixed in contemplation, when governed by the ordinary rules used by men for this purpose, how much less when this restlessness is allowed to dissipate

[1] I have not thought it necessary to translate the whole of these verses. They are mere repetitions of the previous argument.

its strength? it is like trying to hook a mad elephant, or to restrain a camel without catching him by the nose, as the Gâtha says:

"You have shaved your head and assumed the soiled garments (of a priest);
You have taken the earthen alms-dish, and gone begging your daily food.
What pleasure, then, can there be now in indulging yourself in restlessness?
For if you let loose and indulge such feelings as these, you lose all profit in Religion."

Surely, then, to lose all profit in religion, and at the same time all worldly pleasures, such a condition is a sad one! and that which causes it should be, once for all, cast away. But what is the vexation of which we spoke? This vexation fills up the measure of the "hindrance" of Restlessness. How is it, then? At the time when this restlessness is indulged, the influences of religion are no longer felt, and therefore when the man afterwards desires to practise fixed contemplation, he finds himself overpowered by vexation on account of his former conduct, and so sorrow obscures the mind; hence this name of "obscuration" or "hindrance." Now this vexation or sorrow, caused by transgression, is of two kinds: (1.) The sorrow which we have just mentioned. (2.) Sorrow for some grievous sin, the recollection of which causes continual remorse, the arrows of which stick fast in the soul, and cannot be removed. As the Gâtha says:

"Doing what we ought not to do,
Not doing what we ought to do,
The fire of regretful sorrow which (now) burns,
In after ages (leads to) ruin and misery.
But if a man is able to repent of his sin,
And to complete his repentance, there is no more grief.
In this way the heart is restored to Peace;
But repentance not fulfilled, there is the constant recollection of sin,
Whether of omission or commission.
And this is just the condition of the Fool,
Not repenting with all his Heart,
Not doing what he is able to do,
He completes the sum of his evil deeds,
And he cannot but do that which he ought not."

The fifth hindrance to be rejected is the cloud of unbelief. This unbelief obscuring the mind, there can be no hearty faith in any religious duty, and there being no Faith, then there is no advantage to be got by any religious profession (Law of Buddha). We may compare the case of such a man to that of a person without hands in the middle of a Treasure Mountain;—having no hands, what use to him are the Treasures? Such is the character of this unbelief. There are three kinds of unbelief. (1.) That sort of doubt about oneself which leads a man to think thus: "All my faculties are dark and dull; the pollution of sin in my case is very great; I am unlike any one else." Thinking thus about himself, a man in the end will be unable to attain perfection. If he desire to prepare himself for this perfection, he must not undervalue his own condition; for whilst sojourning in the present world, it is difficult to ascertain what principles of virtue there may be within the heart. (2.) There is a second kind of unbelief, viz., that which relates to one's Religious Teacher, as if a man were to say: "My teacher has no dignified ways with him, or peculiar marks of excellency; he cannot, then, possess any great religious endowments; how then can he instruct me?" Such doubts as these will effectually prevent any advance in the way of Samâdhi; we should desire, therefore, to exclude the idea, for as it is said in the Mahâyana Shaster, "A stinking leather purse may contain much gold; if, therefore, we would have the gold we must not fling away the purse." The disciple should argue even thus: "My master, although he is not perfectly pure, is yet able to promote in my mind the love of religion (Buddha)." (3.) There is a third kind of unbelief relates to the Law: for this is the argument, "that the mind of man, which is naturally so taken up with worldly concerns, can never with faith and reverence undertake religious duties; and that there can be no sincerity in such profession." But what then? (Such a) doubt is the very principle of failure, as is said in the Gâtha:

"The man who, travelling along a precipitous road,
Doubts whether he can proceed or not,
Is like the man who, living in the midst of the realities of life (religious virtues),
Doubts of their truth.
Because he doubts, he cannot diligently inquire
After the true marks of that which is.
This unbelief, born from folly,
Is the evil product of an evil heart,
For virtue and vice are true;
And so Life and death and Nirvâna are true.
There can be no doubt about these.
Cherishing the principles of unbelief,
The King of Death and the infernal lictors will bind you,
As a Lion seizes the deer,
So that there can be no rescue.
There will be doubts as long as we reside in the world;
Yet, pursuing with joy the road of virtue,
We ought, like the man who observes the rugged path along the precipice,
Gladly and profitably to follow it.

Thus those who have faith will enter into all the profit of a religious life; whilst those who have no faith, even when living in the profession of religion, will profit nothing. By all these considerations, therefore, we should learn at once to cast away the hindrance of unbelief.

But why should we reject only these, it may be asked, out of so many hindrances which exist? Because, we reply, in these five all others are included.[1] The disciple, therefore, who gets rid of these five is like the man who is suddenly freed from a burthen on his back, or a diseased man restored to health, or a starving man brought to a place of abundant food, or a man who escapes unhurt from a band of robbers; so the man freed from these hindrances finds his heart restored to rest, filled with calm and peace. Whereas the heart, enthralled by these faults, is like the sun or the moon obscured by clouds, or when covered by the hand of the Asura, unable to shed forth any light, or shine with any degree of brightness.

[1] The passions, "trishna, ragas, moha," etc.

4. HARMONISING (THE FACULTIES).

The disciple, when he first engages in the practice of "religious[1] contemplation," desiring to prepare his life in agreement with the Laws of all the Buddhas,[2] must first arm himself with a firm resolve to save all creatures, vowing that he will (himself) seek to obtain the wisdom of the Supreme Buddha. Firm as adamant in this resolve, pressing forward with all courage and determination, regardless of his own individual life, if he thus goes on perfecting himself in Religion,[3] and in the end not turning back, then, afterwards, when sitting in devout meditation, keeping before his mind none but right reflections, he will clearly apprehend the true condition of all phænomenal existence; without any distinct recognition of that which is called excellent (virtue) or the contrary; disregarding the knowledge of all that which depends on the exercise of the senses; perceiving that all things, in their nature imperfect, are mixed up with grief and vexation; that the three worlds are the result of birth and death; and that all things in the three worlds do but result from the Heart—his experience will be that which is stated in the Dasabhûmi Sûtra. "The three worlds have no other originator but the 'one self' (heart)—if a man knows that this 'self' has no individual Nature, then all phænomena (conditions) will appear to him unreal; and thus, his heart being without any polluting

[1] Dhyâna. Chi-kai is now about to explain the character of the preparation necessary for entering on the practice of "meditation," and for securing the abstraction called "Samâdhi." The distinction between Dhyâna and Samâdhi is best given in the words of Patanjali. "Restraint of the body, retention of the mind and meditation, which thence is exclusively confined to one subject, is Dhyâna; the idea of identification with the object of such meditation, so as if devoid of individual Nature, is Samâdhi." *Vishnu Purana*, 658 n.

[2] The Buddhas of the ten regions of space, of the three ages (past, present, and future). This expression is but a developed form of the early formula "to perfect wisdom."

[3] "The Laws of all the Buddhas."

influence (envelope), there will be a clear end of all power possessed by Karma to reproduce in his case 'life or death.'"

Having arrived at this point, the disciple ought to advance to the further practice of right preparation.

Now what do we mean by "harmonising the faculties?" We mean just what the potter does to the clay before he places it on his wheel; he cleanses it from all impurities, and brings it to a proper consistency; or as the musician, who tunes the strings of his lute to a proper concord;—so the disciple prepares his heart. Now, for the purpose of thus harmonising his faculties, there are five duties requiring attention, which, properly performed, will make the attainment of Samâdhi easy; but not observed, will cause many difficulties in the way of attaining virtuous principles.

(1) The first duty regards "food"; and with respect to this the rule is that one's individual desires should be regulated according to Reason: if a man overfill himself, then the vapours quickly rise and the body swells, and the various pulsations, not proceeding regularly, the mind becomes darkened and burthened, and there is no rest whilst sitting in reflection. If a man eats too little, then the body becomes emaciated, the heart is in suspense, and the thoughts become feeble and disconnected. So that in either case there is no way for the accomplishment of Samâdhi. [The section then proceeds to speak of the evil consequences of indulging in impure or forbidden food.]

Thus, for those who enter on the practice of Samâdhi, attention to food is the first and most important requisite, as the Sûtra says:

"The bodily functions in healthy exercise, then Reason (religious knowledge) advances, knowing how to practise moderation in food and drink.

"Occupying his solitary Pansal, in uninterrupted contentment,

"His heart at rest and joyously persevering in the Religious life,

"Such is the teaching of all the Buddhas (with respect to their followers)."

(2) The second thing to be adjusted is "sleep"; for sleep is the delusive covering of ignorance, and cannot be tolerated. Too much sleep prevents all right apprehension of the Holy Law; and, moreover, destroys all religious merit. It causes the heart to become dark, and uproots every virtuous principle. But by regulating the hours of sleep, both the mind and the animal nature are purified and cleansed; the memory becomes distinct, and so it is possible to compose the heart within the sacred limits which make it possible to experience the enjoyment of Samâdhi. And so the Sûtra says: "By not yielding to the influences of sloth, either one night or two (*i. e.*, at the present or some future time), rejecting and not listening to its bewitchments, the life is cleansed and there is nothing further to attain." Think, then, of the fire of destruction (death) which will burn up the world and all in it, and so early every morning seek to deliver yourself, and yield not to sloth!

The third, fourth, and fifth adjustments relate severally to the body, the breath, and the mind.

With respect to the body: care must be taken that no violent exertion be used previous to entering on the exercise of "meditation," lest the breath should be agitated, and the mind in consequence be unsettled; composing the body to a state of perfect quiet, first of all the mat must be placed in a properly retired spot, where the disciple may remain quiet and free from interruption for a considerable time. After this the legs must be properly arranged, if the mode called "pwan-kea" be adopted, then the left leg is placed above the right and drawn close into the body, so that the toes of the left foot be placed evenly on the right thigh, and those of the right foot on the left thigh. But if the "ts'iuen-kea" mode of sitting be preferred, then the right leg is uppermost.

Next, the clothes must be properly arranged and spread out, so that during the period of "meditation" they shall not fall off. Then the hands ought to be composed, *i. e.*, the palm of the left hand placed in the hollow of the right,

corresponding to the position of the legs; then placing them, thus arranged, in close contact with the body, let the heart be at rest!

The next requirement is to straighten the body. Having first of all stretched the joints seven or eight times, so that, as the An-mo[1] law directs, the hands and feet may not become dead, let the spine be perfectly straight, neither curved nor humped, the head and neck upright, the nose exactly plumb with the navel, neither awry nor slanting, nor up nor down, but the whole face straight and perfectly fixed.

Next, with regard to cleansing the mouth, the rules about coarse and impure breathing are these: on opening the mouth to disperse the breath there should be no rough or sudden exhalation, but gently and smoothly, and whilst the breath is passing out consider that in different parts of the body there are pulsations that admit of no exit (?); after dispersing the breath shut the mouth, then breathe gently in through the nose until three inspirations have been made, or if the breath be well adjusted then one inspiration is sufficient. Afterwards, the mouth being closed, the teeth and lips scarcely separated, let the tongue remain pressing on the upper ledge of the teeth, then open the eyes just enough to perceive the exterior light. Thus, retaining the body in an upright sitting posture, the head and the four limbs immovable and perfectly fixed—such are the rules respecting the body on entering on "fixed contemplation."[2]

Next with respect to "breathing." There are four kinds of respiration: 1. Windy respiration; 2. A gasping respiration; 3. Emotional breathing; 4. Pure respiration. The first three modes are unharmonised conditions; the last is harmonised. What, then, is the condition denoted by "windy respiration?" It is when, at the time of sitting down to engage in meditation, the breath passing in and

[1] Âma?

[2] The various rules respecting the postures of the Yogi may be consulted *Vish. Purana*, 653, etc. And also Mrs. Spier's *Ancient India*, pp. 430, 431.

out of the nostrils may be perceived by the noise it makes: this is wind. Then what is gasping? It is when, sitting down to engage in "meditation," although there be no noise in breathing, yet the respiration is broken and uneven, as though it came not through a clear passage: this is gasping. What, then, is emotional breathing? This is when, sitting down to meditate, although there be no noise or gasping, still the respiration is not equable or smooth: this is emotional breathing. And, lastly, what is proper respiration? This is when there is neither noise nor gasping nor uneven breathing, but the respiration is calm and regular, the sign of an equable and well balanced mind: this is proper respiration. The first kind of respiration produces confusion of mind; the second produces an interrupted condition of thought; the third tends to distress the mind; the last alone leads to "fixity." So that when sitting in meditation, if either of the three former methods of breathing be detected, they are signs of what is named "want of harmony" in the exercise (use) of religious duties. Moreover, with respect to the "heart," we observe that if there be any anxiety or distress of mind, this is an impediment in the way of Samâdhi. If, then, we desire to "harmonise" the heart, we must observe three things. 1. To put down and destroy all that distresses our peace of mind. 2. To have the substance of the body (limbs) freely and easily arranged. 3. To take care that the breathing is gentle and smooth as through a hair-tube. Breathing in this way, all distress of mind must be overcome, and therefore the heart may be easily composed to "fixed contemplation."

Lastly, with respect to "harmonising" the mental faculties, there are several schemes for doing this: on entering, being fixed, and leaving the condition of absolute rest. On entering Samâdhi, all confused thoughts must be suppressed and harmonised so that they cannot get the upper hand. And, next, there must be some fixed object for the eye to gaze on when the mind is dead or fickle. Now, this deadness of

mind consists in a want of recollection and a general indisposition to exertion, in which case the disciple[1] must compel his attention to a particular point, as at the end of the nose,[2] forcing his mind to engage with determination on the influences which occupy it (or should direct it), and not wander away from them for a moment. This is the way to overcome "deadness."

And, now, what is fickleness or flightiness of mind? It is when, at the time of sitting down to "meditate," the mind is swayed to and fro, and the body ill at ease, influenced by exterior circumstances of various descriptions: this is flightiness. In such a case, the mind ought to be bound down to repose in the middle of the body, as it were in the navel, and all the wandering thoughts be centred in one point; the mind will then be easily composed and fixed.

But beyond this, though there be no "deadness" or "levity" of heart, there may be a "momentary excitement," or a "careless" condition. The first arises from some such cause as this. Whilst engaged in contemplation, the mind suddenly fixes on the idea, that now because of such or such an effort "Samâdhi" is coming on, and so there be a feeling of excitement or hysteria. Such a state of mind should be suppressed and overcome by reflecting that the influences of the animal spirits (or passion nature (hi)) all flow from the differences which exist in the inferior parts of our constitution (?) If the heart is affected with carelessness, resulting from an inward satisfaction on account of progress, then the body will be ill-adjusted, the mouth full of spittle, and, in consequence, a general bewilderment will ensue—to remedy this the body must be gathered up, and, by a sudden effort, the mind centered in the subject that engages its attention.

With regard to the Rules which relate to the government

[1] Wilson translates the corresponding Sanscrit term by "practitioner" (yoga yuj), *Vish. Pur.*, 652; and this corresponds exactly with the Chinese "hing ché."

[2] So also says Krishna in his sixth Lecture to Arjuna, *vide* Spier, *ut supra.*

of the mind when engaged in the actual enjoyment of Samâdhi, the only observation necessary is, to take care that neither body, breath, nor mind be allowed to relax from their state of discipline, so as to risk the interruption of the tranquillity enjoyed.

On emerging from Samâdhi, a man ought first to scatter or dissipate the influences which bind his heart, by opening his mouth and letting go his breath, and then loosen the hundred secret springs (pulses or feelings) within him. After this, let him gently move his brow and pass his hand over his head; then separating his feet, he may stretch them in any direction, and afterwards rub the whole of his body with his hand. Then he may open his eyes and go free.

Thus one should proceed on breaking the spell of "meditation"—by attending to trifles all deviation from the right standard is avoided. And so the Gâtha says:

"There are steps and grades in advancing towards a condition of rest,
Not disregarding slight indiscretions, but by exact attention,
Like a horse well broken in and trained,
We stand still or we go on, as desired."

The *Lotus* of the Good Law also says: "All the Bôdhisatwas of this great congregation have equally attained their present condition by diligent conduct, earnest perseverance, rightly entering on, engaging in and quitting countless myriads conditions of Samâdhi, etc.

[We have so far translated the work of Chi-Kai. It consists altogether of ten sections, but the four given above contain the method of his system.]

PART III.

SCHOLASTIC PERIOD.

In order to exhibit within moderate limits the principles of the doctrines taught during this period, it will be as well to state once more the comprehensive classification of the whole Buddhist system, which is frequently insisted on in the Canon, and which, without embracing the dogmas of distinct schools, will supply a sufficiently clear division for our present purposes. In the fifth chapter of the Sandinirmotchana Sûtra, for example, we find this statement: "At the time when Buddha turned the wheel of the Law in the Deer-garden, his doctrine of the four truths, astonishing as it was, yet was false (insufficient). A second time, when he turned the wheel and preached respecting the secret and mysterious signs (of true Being), founding his argument on the assertion that all things (subjects) are without any inherent properties of existence (*i. e.* that all things are "empty"), this doctrine also, which is that of the Prajña-paramitâ, was false and incomprehensible. But now for the third time, turning the wheel of the true Law, and explaining the doctrine respecting the clear and comprehensible marks (of Nirvâna)[1]—this is a true and intelligible system of instruction.[2]

We have in the previous sections considered the first division of this threefold development, viz., the period of the "four truths," or the system known as that of the Hînayana, in which the aim was by moral discipline to attain a condition of Rest; we shall in this chapter give some translations taken from works included in the second and third periods, during which the doctrines of an universal

[1] That is, the four marks explained in the Mahâ-pari-Nirvâna Sûtra —permanency, individuality, purity, joy; *vide supra*, p. 137, n. 4.

[2] Wassilief, p. 152, § 153.

void and of an universally existing essence (Alaya or Âtman) were successively taught.

2. PRAJNÂ PÂRAMITÂ SÛTRAS.

When the theory of an universal void became the leading feature of the Buddhist scholastic development, the question pressed upon the mind was this: If all things around us are unreal and unsubstantial, is there any thing in the universe real, or any true existence? The answer to this question was, that "on the other shore," that is, in that condition which admits of no birth or death, no change or suffering, free from all mundane influences or affections, there is an absolute and imperishable existence. There are several ways in which this state or condition is formulated. It is described as a state of the highest and most perfect enlightenment (anuttara samyak sam̃bôdhi)—as, for instance, in the second chapter of the Vajra-chhêdika Sûtra (a work of the Pâramitâ class), it is asked, "how ought a disciple, who desires to attain to the condition of "the highest and most perfect enlightenment," to repress his sinful "heart;" and on what ought he to fix his reliance?" The answer, given in the next chapter, is this: "Subhûti! whatever species of creatures there be, whether viviparous, oviparous, born from spawn, or by transformation, &c., all these I exhort to seek after the state of Pari-nirvâna, and for ever to free themselves from the several conditions of being to which they belong." So that we conclude this condition of Pari-nirvâna, and that known as "anuttara samyak sam̃bôdhi," both refer to the same ineffable state of existence, described generally as that enjoyed on "the other shore," in other words the condition of the "Absolute." This condition admits of no verbal definition; it may be partially exhibited, however, by a course of negations. Consequently, in the Pâramitâ works of the Buddhist Canon, the argument is a purely negative one.

The difficulty of defining "the absolute" has always been

acknowledged. "Divina substantia in suâ immensitate, non est cognoscibilis ab animâ rationali cognitione positivâ, sed est cognoscibilis cognitione privitivâ."[1] Again, *ἄκουε ὦ ἄνθρωπε, τὸ μὲν εἶδος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄῤῥητον καὶ ἀνέκφραστον*" (Theoph. *ad Autol.*, i, 3).[2] Again, "Imo vero me nihil aliud quam dicere voluisse sentio. Si autem dixi, non est quod dicere volui. Hoc unde scio, nisi quia Deus ineffabilis est."[3] The same difficulty presented itself to the Buddhist writers of the period we are describing. The twenty-first chapter of the Vadjra chhedika is headed thus: "On the impossibility of expressing this system of philosophy by any words; that which can be so expressed is not agreeable to this body of doctrine"; and in the chapter this remark occurs: "if a man say that Tathâgata has a definitely-spoken system of doctrine, that man does but malign Buddha, for the Law which I declare cannot be explained in words. Subhûti! that Law which can be explained in words is no Law, it is but an empty name." If we remember that the word "Law" (dharma) means a condition of being or existence, we here have the secret of the whole system stated in plain words,

[1] Hagenbach, vol. i, 480. (The words are those of Alexander Hales.)

[2] Hagenbach, vol. i, 101.

[3] Augustine, *De Doct. Christ.*, i, c. 6. So, also, Justin Martyr declares that God is not only above all *names*, but above all *existence* (ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας); and yet he elsewhere speaks of the οὐσία of God, but as entirely distinct from mundane existence. Clement of Alexandria shews very plainly (*Strom.*, vii, p. 689) that we can attain to a clear idea of God only by laying aside (δι' ἀναλυσέως) all finite ideas of the Divine Nature, till at last nothing but the abstract idea of unity remains. Again, John of Damascus (*De Fide Orthod.*, i, 4) says distinctly that God does not come under the category of *things* (οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν ὄντων ἐστίν); and again, He is ὑπὲρ γνῶσιν πάντως καὶ ὑπὲρ οὐσίαν; and it is only by way of negation, δι' ἀφαιρεσέως, that we can acquire any knowledge of His attributes. Scotus Erigena declares 'Deus itaque nescit se quid est quia non est quid' (*De Div. Nat.*, ii, 28). Anselm confines himself to the statement 'si quid de summa natura dicitur relative, non est ejus significativum substantiæ.' Aquinas proved that there can be no 'cognitio quidditativa' of God. [For further remarks on this subject, *vide* Hagenbach, *History of Doctrines, passim.*]

viz., that the condition of Being which admits of verbal definition is not a *real* condition, it is but an empty expression. From this it follows that there is an ineffable condition, which, although not to be described, nevertheless *exists*.

Again, in the twenty-sixth cap. of the Vajra chhedika Sûtra, entitled "The mystical body of Tathâgata, without any distinct characteristic," there is this statement:—"He who looks for me, *i. e.*, for the true Tathâgata, through any material form, or seeks me through any audible sound, that man has entered on an erroneous course, and shall never behold Tathâgata."

Again, in the twenty-ninth chapter of the same work, it is said, "if there be a man who speaks of Tathâgata as coming or going, sitting or sleeping, that man is ignorant of the secret of the system which I declare. And why? Because Tathâgata has nowhere whence to come, and nowhere whither to go; and therefore he is named Tathâgata."

The concluding words of the same work are to like purport: "Wherefore the conclusion is this—that all things having any personal or individual characteristics (yih tsai yeou wei fah) are as a dream, a phantom, a bubble, as the dew or lightning flash—and they should be regarded as such." Which seems to imply that the aim of all the discourse had been to direct the mind to the existence of *that* which is not characterised by any such limitations.

The word pâramitâ, however, has been differently defined. Mr. Spence Hardy speaks of the paramitâs as "virtues." Wassilief translates the word by "perfection." Burnouf understands it as a feminine participle in agreement with some such word as "Buddhi" (intelligence) understood, and so translates the phrase, "Prâjña pâramitâ", by the words, "intelligence arrived at the other shore of wisdom." The Chinese explanation of the phrase is simply "wisdom gone across;" and (although Chinese criticisms on such questions are not always to be trusted) this exposition favours the idea that the intention of this and all phrases

of a similar connection, relating to charity, patience, etc., was simply to denote the character of that wisdom, charity, patience, etc., which comports with the perfection of these several conditions, as existing in the Supreme condition of Being "on the other shore"; in other words, that the attempt is to describe "Absolute wisdom," etc.

There are two versions of the Pradjña Pâramitâ works commonly met with in China. The first, by Kumarajîva, a native of Takshasila (Taxila), who laboured in China as a most active and judicious translator (A.D. 397-415) [Eitel]. This translation is an abbreviated one. It consists of thirty kiouen and ninety sections, comprising 1468 pages of ten columns each, each column of twenty words, so that the whole work consists of 293,600 words. It is calculated that there are 181,253 words in the New Testament. The translation, therefore, of Kumarajîva is about half as long again as the latter, and about one-fourth the size of the whole Bible. But this represents only a very small portion of the original. The Buddhists say that "the copy of the Prajña pâramitâ Sûtra, consisting of 100,000 slokas, is the shortest of the three." A sloka is a couplet of two lines, of sixteen syllables each. These lines are commonly converted into Chinese pentameters, and sometimes heptameters. Taking the pentameter, however, as the prevailing model, the translation of the copy of 100,000 slokas would represent about 1,000,000 words, or a volume about six times the size of the New Testament. But Hiouen Thsang included in his translation of the Prajña Pâramitâ works, not only the copy of 100,000 slokas, but those of 25,000 slokas, 18,000 slokas, 10,000 slokas, 8,000 slokas, and other pâramitâs, so that we are prepared for the statement,[1] that the whole of Hiouen Thsang's translations of the Prajña Pâramitâ works consists of 120 volumes (Wassilief says 600 kiouen), being about eighty times the size of the New Testament, that is, about twenty-five times

[1] Edkins, Shanghae Almanac, 1857.

the size of the whole Bible.[1] The translation of this immense literature occupied Hiouen Thsang four entire years, and was the crowning labour of his life.

It would be clearly impossible to give even a summary of this literature in a work like the present, and, in fact, to attempt to do so would be labour lost; the entire translation is a succession of repetitions so frequent, "that it would be easy for any one acquainted with Buddhist terminology to repeat a whole volume of the Prajña pâramitâ, without having even read it."[2] There is, however, a convenient abstract of this laborious compilation, used by Hiouen Thsang as an Introduction to his work. It is found immediately following the Imperial Preface by T'ae Tsung. The common name for it in China is the "Sin King," or the "Heart Sûtra." It is found in every temple, and very frequently in the interior of the small "idols" (Josses) that garnish the domestic altars. The full title of the work is Mâha-prajña-pâramitâ hridaya-Sûtra.[3] Whether this brief summary was the germ from which the later tedious Sûtras were expanded, or whether it is merely a sort of tabular statement of the contents of the larger works, I am unable to determine, but I incline to the former opinion, for it is improbable that Hiouen Thsang would commence his great undertaking by any unauthentic production; and the summary, as it stands at the beginning of his translation, is not arranged in any way corresponding to an index or "table of contents;" for this reason, therefore, it would seem to be an original though brief *précis* on the whole production.

There are numerous editions of this little tract in China. The one most frequently met with (in the south at least) is that written by Wu-tsing-tsze, being a republication of Tai-Theen's edition of the same work, written about 820 A.D. Tai-theen selects every phrase or word of the original, and

[1] The Buddhist Canon, in China, is seven hundred times larger than the Bible. [Edkins.]

[2] Wassilief, p. 146, § 146.

[3] Wassilief, p. 145, § 145.

writes a couplet of verses upon it by way of comment. These verses are sometimes entirely in defiance of the sense of the original. For instance, the final syllables of the word "pâramitâ," *i.e.*, "mi" and "ta," are expressed by two Chinese words of the same phonetic value, "mih" and "to." Now in Chinese "mih" is the equivalent for "honey," and "to" for "many," or "a number." Tai-theen, therefore, takes occasion to illustrate the sense of the final portion of the word "pâramita" by several verses on the subject of "many bees gathering honey from various flowers—the flowers indeed are different, but the honey is the same." This mode of illustration is evidently the result of an entire ignorance of the original, and is therefore worthless for any critical purposes.

Wu-tsing-tsze, in the preface to his work, calls attention to the opinions of various writers on the subject of the common agreement of the three religious sects in China.[1] "Liu-tseu-hau," he says, "long ago remarked that the words of Buddha (Feou-tho) are in strict agreement with the Yih-King, and the Lun-yu." Again he remarks, "Lu-shun-yang declares that the teaching of the three sects is not different; the catholic-minded[2] man regards them as embodying the same truths. The narrow-minded man observes only their differences." So, again, he remarks, Lu-shuh-kien said, "The common stand-point of the three sects is simply this: that they all insist upon the banishment of selfish-desire, and that is all." And, in confirmation of this, he adds, "Therefore, the Master's (Confucius) discourses about man's Nature and the way of Heaven could not be heard."[3]

Let us now pass on to the Text of the Sûtra; the first word

[1] Viz., of Confucius, Buddha, and Laou-tseu.

[2] The large-hearted man. But "catholic" is a better word, and Mr. Chalmers has already adopted this word in the *Tau-teh-king*, xvi.

[3] *Confucian Analects*, v, 12. The meaning of Tsze-Kung, in this section of the *Analects*, appears to be this. "What Confucius taught as a literature could be understood, but the secret of his teaching as it related to man's nature and heavenly wisdom could not be gathered from any mere words—could not be heard under the form of words."

is Mâha (prajña pâramitâ), or, as it is written in Chinese, Mo Ho. The entire comment on this word (and one such extract will explain the whole method) is this: first of all the couplet of Theen Tai.

"The spiritual body (dharmakaya), as to its substance (hypostasis), is like the vast expanse of Space. The Nature of Man and his Reason were originally one and undivided; simply by reason of covetous desire his True Nature was perverted, and the six modes of migrational existence and the four kinds of birth were introduced into the world."

The comment then proceeds: "This word (*i.e.*, Mâha) is Sanscrit (Fan). It signifies 'vast' and 'unbounded.' The particular reference is to the boundless and infinite void[1] known as 'Great Reason.'

Confucius says, 'Look up at it, it is higher than you can see! Bore into it, it is deeper than you can penetrate! Look at it as it stands before you; suddenly it is behind you (*i. e.*, it cannot be grasped).'[2]

Buddha says, 'As the great Universe has no boundary, and the eight quarters of Heaven no gateway, so Supreme Reason has no limits; to measure boundless Space would be difficult indeed.'

Lau-tsze says, 'Looking up you cannot see the summit of its head; go behind it you cannot see its back.'"[3]

[1] On the "void of Reason," refer to the *Tau-teh-king* (Chalmers' Translation), *passim* [particularly cap. xxi. I think the "emptiness" explained by Lau-tsze would go far to exhibit the Nature of the Absolute as asserted by the Buddhists].

[2] *Analects*, ix, 10, 1. Dr. Legge thus translates the whole passage. "Yen yuen, *in admiration of the master's doctrines*, sighed and said, 'I looked up to them *and they seemed to become* more high, I tried to penetrate them *and they seemed to become* more firm, I looked at them before me and suddenly they seemed to be behind.'"

[3] Quoted from the *Tau-teh-king*, cap. xiv, "On the praise of the Abyss." I have called attention, in a previous note, to the negations found in the works of Christian writers when speaking of the existence of God. There is a passage in Minucius Felix, c. 18, that is very apposite to our present purpose. "Hic Deus nec videri potest, visu clarior est; nec comprehendi, tactu purior est; nec æstimari, sensibus

Such, in brief, is the method observed in Wu-Tsing Tsze's commentary. The object of the Sûtra, as I apprehend it, is to shew the character of the "wisdom" possessed by those who have "gone across" to the other shore. The character of this wisdom consists in the absence of all "conditions." The five "skandha[1]" are regarded as empty and meaningless. The identity of differences is assumed (matter and space, &c.). There being no reality in distinctions, then life, death, disease, old age are also meaningless terms. And by similar reasoning there is nothing to be attained, and therefore nothing to affect the eternal quiet of absolute Being.

3. THE MAHA-PRAJÑA-PÂRAMITÂ-HRIDAYA-SÛTRA.

Avalokitêshwara[2] (*the Devatâ of the Sûtra.*)

When the Prajnâ Pâramitâ has been fully practised, then we clearly behold that the five skandha are all empty, vain, and unreal. So it is we escape the possibility of sorrow or obstruction.

Sâriputra (*the Rishi of the Sûtra.*)

That which we call form (rûpa) is not different from that which we call space (sûnyatâ). Space is not different from

major est, infinitus, immensus et soli sibi tantus quantus est notus; nobis vero ad intellectum pectus augustum est et ideo sic eum digne æstimamus, dum inæstimabilem dicimus. Eloquar, quemadmodum sentio; magnitudinem Dei, qui se putat nosse, minuit, qui non vult minuere, non novit. Nec nomen Deo quæras; Deus nomen est." This last confession is precisely that to which the Buddhists were driven.

[1] The five skandha or elements of (limited) existence are these. (1) Rupa-skandha, comprehending organs of sense and objects of sense. (2) Vijnyana-skandha consists in intelligence or consciousness of sensation. (3) Vedana-skandha comprises pleasure, pain, or the absence of either. (4) Sanjnya-skandha, the knowledge or belief arising from names and words, as ox, horse, etc. (5) Sanskara-skandha includes passions, as hatred, fear, etc.

[2] Avalokitêshwara, *i. e.*, the manifested Divinity. In such works as the present, this refers to the inward manifestation of the Divinity which takes place in the enlightened Heart. With regard to the general meaning of the term, there will be occasion to speak hereafter.

form. Form is the same as space. Space is the same as form.

And so with the other skandhas, whether vedaná, or sanjná, or sanskára, or vijnána, (they are each the same as their opposite).

Sáriputra.

All these things around us (ye dhammá) being thus stript or devoid of qualities (lakshana), there can be no longer birth or death, defilement or purity, addition or destruction. In the midst then of this void (sûnyatâ), there can be neither rúpa, vedaná, sanjná, sanskára, or vijnána (*i. e.*, neither of the five skandha); nor yet organs of sense, whether the eye, or nose, ear, or tongue, body, or mind (manas); nor yet objects of sense, *i. e.* matter (rúpa), or sound, odour, or taste, touch, or ideas (dharma); nor yet categories of sense (dhátu), such as the union of the object and subject in sight, in smell, in touch, in taste, in apprehension.

So there will be no such thing as ignorance (avidyâ), nor yet freedom from ignorance, and therefore there can be none of its consequences;[1] and therefore no such thing as decay or death (jará or marana), nor yet freedom from decay and death. So neither can there be a method (or way) for destroying the concourse of sorrows. No such thing as wisdom, and no such thing as attaining (happiness or rest), as there will not be aught that can be attained.

The Bôdhisatwa resting on this Prajná Páramitá, no sorrow or obstruction can then affect his heart, for there will be no such thing as sorrow or obstruction. Therefore, having no fear or apprehension of evil, removing far from him all the distorting influences of illusive thought, he arrives at the goal of Nirvâna.

The Buddhas of the three ages, relying on this Prajná Páramitá, have arrived at the "unsurpassed and enlightened" condition (samyak-sambôdhi).

[1] Colebrooke, p. 255.

Therefore we know that this Prajnâ Pâramitâ is the Great Spiritual Dhâranî,—it is the Great Light-giving Dhâranî. This is the unsurpassed Dhâranî. This is the unequalled Dhâranî, able to destroy all sorrows. True and real (*i e.*, full of meaning), not vain (*i. e.*, unmeaning). Therefore we repeat (or let us repeat) the Prajnâ Páramitâ Dhâranî.

Then also say—

Ki-tai, Ki-tai,
Po-lo, Ki-tai,
Po-lo-seng-Kitai,
Bo-tái-sah-po-ho.[1]

3. THE SURAÑGAMA[2] SÛTRA.

We have shewn in the previous section how the meaning of the word "vanity" or "emptiness," as it was used in the early period of Buddhist history—that is, to signify the vanity of all earthly sources of happiness,—became changed or transferred, at a later period, to the question of the reality or non-reality of all sensible phænomena (or sensory perceptions). In the same way, the question about permanency or impermanency—that is, the permanency of earthly happiness or the happiness of Heaven (as it was generally known),—which occupied so conspicuous a place in the early Sûtras, became afterwards the subject of discussion in a sense entirely different from its first use. It became the groundwork of an important argument, the object being to prove that there is something which is not susceptible of change, and that "That" is the universal self (tsong ; Alaya).

We find this argument in the Sûtra, whose name stands at the head of the present section.

The Surañgama Sutra—so restored from the Chinese Shan-

[1] *i. e.*, Gata, gata, parâgata, parasangata (Gone! gone! gone-across! (or burnt out) gone across for ever!) Bôdhisatwa.

[2] The derivation of Surañgama or Surañgan would appear to be from Sûra, the Sun, denoting the "highest" form of Samâdhi. It may be possibly the same as the Samâdhi Râjah.

leng-yan-king by Julien (Méthode, 1007), and by Wassilief (Buddhisme, 175)—is a work very highly esteemed in China. It is said that the philosopher Choo-foo-tsze, a man "who was considered to be second to Confucius, and amongst the most prominent of the authors of the middle age period of the country," was impressed in favour of it.[1] The Literati in China are generally extremely opposed to Buddhist compositions. They speak of them with contempt, or affect to ignore him. The admiration, therefore, of Choo-foo-tsze recommends the work in question to our notice.

It was translated from the Sanscrit by a priest called Pâramiti, of Middle India, and the sounds of the Sanscrit words precisely rendered by another priest, Mêgasika, of the country of Udyana, in North-West India.

The names of eighteen commentators are given, whose notes and explanations make this Sûtra an excellent study for any one inclined to investigate the subject.

As to its date, there is no positive information; the preface in my copy was written by Fu-Shing, a priest of Luifung, in the Kea-yin year of Yungching, *i. e.* 1734 A.D.

I find, however, the Sûtra we are speaking about several times named in the Màha-pârinirvâna Sutra (Kiouen iv. pp. 12, 17, &c.) If this be the same as the Maha-parinibbana Sutta of the Southern Schools, then we may suppose that the Surañgama Sûtra is not, or was not, unknown (probably under a different name) in Ceylon, at an early period.

Mr. Brian Hodgson also refers once to the Chourañgama Sûtra (*Collected Essays*, p. 160), which is doubtless the same as our Surañgama; but he adds, "that he does not at once recognise the name as that of a distinct Buddhist work."

Fa-hien, the Buddhist pilgrim, alludes to a work bearing the same title (Shau-ling-King), and declares that it was delivered by Buddha at Râjagriha. The Sûtra itself opens at Srâvasti, and the discussion takes place in the Jêtavana;

[1] Edkins, *Religious Condition of the Chinese*, p. 76.

[2] *Buddhist Pilgrims*, cap. xxix, p. 116.

it is possible, therefore, that Fa-hien alludes to a different work.

From internal evidence we cannot doubt that the Sûtra, as we have it at present, belongs to the same age as the Lankâvatara and Saddharma Pundarika Sûtras—viz., the beginning of the Tantra period, perhaps so late as the fourth century A.D.; but there is also evidence to shew that what we now possess is not the Sûtra as it was first promulgated, but, like others of the "expanded" class, has been from time to time enlarged and developed into its present shape.

The question, however, of date, *i. e.* of the Chinese translation, may be satisfactorily settled by those, who, having access to Chinese works not within my reach, discover the time when the priests, Pâramiti and Mêghasika, came to China.

The object of our present inquiry will be gained by a partial translation of the first four books of the Sûtra. The whole work consists of ten books (Kiouen), and, with the commentary, comprises 502 double pages, of nine columns each—that is, 9036 columns, and as each column consists of twenty words, there are 180,720 words in the entire work. So that it represents a book as large at least as the New Testament. The entire translation of such a book, however desirable on other grounds, cannot be comprised within the limits of the space allowed for the present undertaking.

I now proceed to the translation:—

"Thus have I heard; once on a time Buddha was residing in the city of Srâvastî, in the Jêtavana vihâra, with the congregation of Great disciples (Bikshus) 1250 men in all; all of them perfect Rahats,[1] firmly established in the Divine Life,[2] distinguished for

[1] Wu-lau, anupadhisesha.

[2] This passage is explained in the commentary "firmly fixed in the principles of the wisdom of the Bôdhisatwas, and resolutely abiding by the exposition of the true Law of all the Buddhas." I have throughout this translation used expressions that convey the meaning of the original, as far as possible, without following the text literally.

their superiority to all worldly influences, having perfectly mastered all human knowledge, and, enabled by the reception of Divine Truth, embodied in the doctrine of Buddha, to assume countless forms for the salvation of all sentient creatures, and for the benefit of ages yet to come, some of whose names were these: the deeply-wise Sariputra, the Great Maudgalyâyana, Mahakâuchtila, Pûrna Maitrâyanîputra, Subhûti, Upanishta—all of them leading men. Besides these there were countless Pratyêka Buddhas, all of them Arhats; and Srâvakas, who had come together to the place where Buddha was, and joined themselves with the disciples; it was now just the time of the free discussion held in the midst of the Summer Retreat[1] (season of Rain), all the Bôdhisatwas therefore had arranged in order the several doubtful questions they were about respectfully to propose for explanation. At this time Tathâgata, having arranged his seat (lit. seat for rest), on account of the members of the Great assembly about to explain deep mysteries, invited all to come to the Feast of the Law, to obtain (wisdom) not admitting of increase. His mellow voice (lit., voice of the Kalabiñgka bird) extended through the ten regions; and innumerable[2] Bôdhisatwas came flocking to the sacred arena, of whom Manjusri was chief. At this time Prasênadjit Râjah, because it was the anniversary day of his father's death, had asked Buddha to the inner rooms of his palace; and there, himself in attendance to meet Tathâgata, he had made extensive preparations in the way of savoury viands of most exquisite odour, whilst his royal relatives entertained the great Bôdhisatwas; and in the city all the noble men and householders simultaneously feasted the priests.

During his own absence, Buddha had commissioned Manjusri to take charge of the Bôdhisatwas and Arhats in the character of master of the festival. But it happened that Ananda had previously received a distinct invitation, and having gone to a distance had not yet returned, and therefore was unable to

[1] The commentary explains this passage thus: "From the sixteenth day of the fourth month till the fifteenth day of the seventh month is the season of the summer retreat; during the middle decade of the ninety days composing this period, it was customary for some one eminent priest to enter by invitation into discussion (with Buddha) respecting doubtful questions."

[2] Like the sands of the Ganges for number.

attend in the ranks of the priests; and so it happened that there was neither Stavirah or Acharya in his company;[1] but he was quite alone as he returned along the middle of the road. Now on this day he had received no religious offerings; so whilst he returned, Ananda arranged in proper order his begging dish, and as he went through the city stopped in regular order to solicit alms. But in his heart he had resolved to seek first the contributions of the least worthy, in consideration of the festival occasion, without asking any questions as to pure or impure, Kshatriyas or Chandâlas, but equally affected to all, without distinction of rich or poor, desirous to obtain for all alike endless merit. For Ananda bore in mind how Tathâgata, the world honoured one, had found fault with Subhûti and the great Kâsyapa, in consideration of the Arhats, for having an unequal purpose in seeking alms;[2] he therefore, with a sincere desire to respect his directions, and by acting in an open manner to avoid all suspicions and doubts, passed across the moat of the city, and, with dignified steps, entered the gates, severely dignified in his conduct, desirous fully to fulfil the rules which relate to the method of soliciting alms. At this time, whilst Ananda was thus proceeding in order collecting charity, he passed by the houses of ill-fame which extended through a certain part of the city, and was thus subjected to the fatal influences of their sorceries. So it was the Matañga women[3] using the magical words of Savakara,[4] a former Brahma Dêva, plotted to inveigle him by their lascivious wiles, to lie down on their mats, where, by amorous personal caressing, they might excite feelings leading to ultimate transgression of the rules of religion. Tathâgata, aware of the power of these lascivious sorceries, the religious ceremonies being concluded, was now returning homewards; the King and chief ministers, with the nobles and householders, all in

[1] It was an ordinance of Buddha that whenever a priest went to a distance, he should be accompanied by the president (Stavirah) and his Teacher (Acharya), so as to avoid any possible scandal.

[2] Compare with this the anecdote related by Mr. Gogerly, note 23, *Translation of the Pratimoksha from Pali.*

[3] Pariahs, L. v, 24.

[4] Savakara, *sc.* sava; yellow. Vide Fo-koue-ki, p. 136. For an account of the Mantañga women, vide Burn., *Introd.*, p. 205. Savakara is explained in the commentary as "yellow-haired."

company with him, desirous to hear the exposition of the law. Then Tathâgata caused to issue from the summit of his head[1] a flood of glory composed of a hundred precious rays; from the middle of each ray was produced a thousand-leaved precious lotus-flower, on which was seated the apparitional form of a Buddha, with his legs arranged in the orthodox way; these Buddhas, uttering some divine formulæ, commissioned Manjusri, using the sentences as his protection, for the purpose of destroying the effect of the evil charms (of the Matañgas), and of strengthening and encouraging Ananda, to go to the place where these women lived, and return to the presence of Buddha (with Ananda).

Ananda, on his return, beholding Buddha, bent himself to the ground in adoration, and shed a flood of (grateful) tears; at the same time, he was filled with regrets which had afflicted him from the first, that he yet remained among the number of the inferior disciples of his Master,[2] not having arrived at any advanced possession of sacred wisdom, although he had ever been most diligent (in his efforts) and in his earnest inquiries of the several Tathâgatas, as to the means of perfecting himself in wisdom—that is to say, the perfect attainment of Samâdhi, of complete efficacy (Samajña), the most excellent means of deliverance. And now again on this occasion there were before him countless Bôdhisatwas, and the great Rahats of the ten regions, and Pratyêka Buddhas, all anxiously expecting to hear the joyful tidings, awaiting silently the enunciation of the sacred intentions of the mode of instruction about to be adopted.

Then Buddha addressed Ananda: You and I, Ananda, are of one blood, related by the consanguinity of our parents; tell me, then, what it was first stirred your heart in my religious system—what excellences did you see of such persuasive character as to induce you to forsake and quit the fascinations of the world?

[1] "The summit of his head." This allusion may be connected with the Sûra or sun-emblem (Sûra-mani) so frequently seen surmounting the head of images of Buddha in the South.

[2] Ananda is generally spoken of as the first of the "To-wan," *i.e.*, inferior disciples (Sêkha). The Chinese expression is doubtless identical with that found in the Sanscrit and Pali, concerning which there is an instructive note. *Lotus*, p. 295.

Ananda replied thus to Buddha: Seeing in Tathâgata the thirty-two superior marks,[1] of such superlative beauty, your person bright and ruddy as crystal, and ever reflecting in myself that these marks were not those which the lusts of the flesh produce—for it is plain that the nature of the passions being turbulent and polluting, the humours of the body would in consequence be rank, and the pus secreted by the blood also turgid and irregular, preventing anything like the production of such excellences as mark the person of Tathâgata, shining like gold in their collected splendour—beholding these signs in your person, therefore I followed Buddha with shaven crown.

Buddha replied: Well said, Ananda! but now (let me tell you something more), which you should be equally assured of, viz., that the whole world of sentient creatures, from the first till now, have been involved in the nexus of (endless) births and deaths, from the fact of their ignorance of the 'ever fixed and true state of Being (heart), essentially pure, and substantially glorious'; and so, by adopting every kind of idle speculation without any truth, men have been involved in the net of incessant renewals of existence. As you therefore now desire to investigate (the character of) that wisdom which admits of no further advance, with a view to eliminate (in yourself) the glorious powers of your original nature, you must first of all consent with a true heart to reply to my questions. The Tathâgatas of the ten regions agreeing in observing this one method, have thus escaped from the maze of life and death, all of them possessing an upright heart; the words which they employed were therefore true. Thus, from first to last founding their conduct on this principle, throughout the whole of their previous career they ever avoided the danger of grievous error. Ananda, I now interrogate you!—when first you were conscious of a feeling of preference for the thirty-two superior marks of Tathâgata, using what means of sight (did you arrive at this state?) andwho was it that felt the pleasure of preference for me?

Ananda replied: World honoured one! In this way I arrived at this pleasurable preference, by using my mind and my sight. My eyes gazing on you beheld the superlative excellences of

[1] That is, the thirty-two maha-purusha-lakshana, the thirty-two marks of a great man.

Tathâgata, and my mind was sensible of the birth of the delight of love; it was thus this condition was produced that made me desire to come out of the tangled influences that bound me to life and death.

Buddha replied to Ananda: According to your words just uttered, the true ground of your pleasurable affection is to be sought in the mind and the eye. But if you know not the precise location of these powers, then you can never get rid of the dust-troubles that affect your conduct—just as though a king of a district, on account of the ravages of a band of robbers, were to equip a military force to expel them, the first requisite would be that the soldiers should know where about the robbers were secreted. So as it is on account of the false judgments of your mind and sight that you are detained in the stream of perpetual transmigrations, I demand of you—say! where is the local habitat of this mind and of this sight of which you speak?

"Ananda, replying to Buddha, said: World honoured one! all the ten different kinds of being which exist in the world agree in considering that the intelligent mind resides within the body; whilst it is evident to every one beholding the blue lotus-shaped eyes of Tathâgata, that *they* are in the face of Buddha; from which I conclude on this occasion that the four organs of sense[1] and the four objects of sense, combining their several offices here in my face—that the seeing eye is without me in my head, and the understanding heart within me in my body.

Buddha replied to Ananda thus: Ananda, at this moment you are seated in the preaching-hall of Tathâgata, look out now and see the trees of the Jêtavana, and tell me where are they situated?

"World honoured one! this great storied religious preaching-hall is situated in the garden of Anâthapindada (the friend of the orphans); and so the trees of the Jetavana must be of necessity outside the hall.

"Ananda, as you sit here in the hall, what is it (your eyes) first behold?

"World honoured one, as I sit in the hall I first of all see

[1] That is, sight, hearing, smelling, tasting. It means, of course, that these senses or organs of sense reside in the face; the other two senses, viz., touch and operation of mind, reside elsewhere.

Tathâgata. Next I behold the great Assembly. Then looking outside, I see the varied trees of the garden.

"Ananda, as you behold the trees outside the hall, what is the medium through which you gaze on them?

"World-honoured one! the windows of this great preaching-hall being opened—therefore, as I sit here, I am able to obtain the extensive view which meets my eye beyond the hall!

"At this time the world-honoured one, located in the midst of the great congregation, slowly unbaring his golden-coloured arm, placed his hand on the head of Ananda, and explained to him and the rest of the great assembly that there was a Samâdhi called Ta-fuh-teng-shau-leng-yan-wang,[1] which admits of the exercise of countless active virtues, by means of which the Tathâgatas of the ten regions as it were through this as a sole means of salvation having emerged, have quickly arrived at the state of infinite perfection. Do you therefore attentively listen whilst I explain the character of this condition. Ananda, bowing down to the ground, humbly accepted the merciful intimation.

"Buddha then addressed Ananda: According to your statement, whilst your body is located in the Preaching Hall, the windows being open, you are enabled to gaze at the garden trees; tell me, then, if it is likewise possible for any person within this Hall not to be able to see Tathâgata and yet to behold the objects without the precincts?

"Ananda replied, saying: World-honoured one, it is clearly impossible to suppose that any one within the Hall, not being able to see Tathâgata, could yet behold the trees and the rivulets without the place.

"Ananda! apply the same reasoning to your assertion with respect to the mind. The spiritual character of your mind, bringing all things under its perception; if, according to your former statement, the groundwork of this perceptive faculty is within your body, then its first exercise would be to make itself acquainted with the inner parts of the body itself; so that all men should first be sensible of this priority of perception, embracing all that is within them, and afterwards extending to those things which are without. But how is it, then, in fact that we never meet with a man who is really able to see his own internal organs,

[1] Mahâ Buddha surañgama Rajah, or, perhaps, the Samâdhi Râjah.

e. gr., the heart, or liver, or kidneys, or stomach—or who can see the root-growth of his nails or hair—or who can trace the course of his nerves or the windings of his veins. I say, how is it at the time of the exercise of this power of perception (which you say resides within) a man cannot thus perceive what is within himself? or will it not follow on your own admission, that not being able to see that which is within, he cannot know what is without? You must admit, therefore, that this hypothesis regarding the seat of the knowing faculty, viz., that it is within the body, cannot be maintained.

"Ananda, bowing his head to the ground, again addressed Buddha: From what I gather, as I listen to the words of Tathâgata, it is plain that I must understand the truth to be that my understanding faculty (heart) is really located *without* the body. For, to use a comparison, as the light of a lamp, when lit within a house, must necessarily, first of all, illuminate the space within, and then afterwards extending to the doors, and the portions of the vestibule and neighbouring parts, illuminate them also (so should it be with the mind); but now, as men are unable to see that which is within themselves, but can only take knowledge of what is without, it seems to follow that the intelligent mind (or perceptive faculty) must be like a lamp placed *outside* a house, which cannot illuminate that which is within; this I take to be the true solution, agreeable to the system of Buddha and incapable of being refuted.

"Buddha addressed Ananda, and said: All these Bikshus who surround me, have just come with me from the city of Sravasti; each one having collected food by begging, sufficient for his need, has come back to this Jêtavana—now, tell me! if you watch one of these disciples as he eats, do you or all the rest derive nourishment and appease your appetites thereby?

"Ananda answered: Certainly not! world-honoured one; for, although these Bikshus may have arrived at the condition of Rahats, yet their bodily life is not the same,—how, then, can the fact of one of them eating his meal, satisfy the appetite of all the rest?

"Buddha replied: Well, then! take your assertion about the intelligent mind dwelling without the body; there must, therefore, be an external connection between your body and this mind,

and when this personal connection is not in action, then what the external mind perceives you yourself cannot know, and since (as far as you are concerned) the knowledge of a thing is the personal knowledge you possess of it, the heart or intelligent mind (apart from this) knows nothing. For instance, I now shew you my hand, soft as the material of the Talas tree; at the moment when your eyes perceive it, does not the intelligent mind also discriminate as to the properties of the hand?

"Ananda replied: Yes, certainly, world-honoured one.

"Buddha continued: If, then, your heart or intelligent faculty immediately discriminates as to the character of that which is presented to your eyes, how can you say that this faculty resides without the body (and is so disconnected from it)? You may be satisfied, therefore, that this hypothesis is also untenable.

"Ananda again replied: World-honoured one, according to what you say—viz., that because the intelligent mind does not apprehend inner truths, therefore it does not reside within; and, because of the necessary connection of mind and body, the former cannot be located without the body (and, therefore, independent of it), I now consider further, and conclude that the power of (of seeing and) knowing is fixed in one place.

"But what is that place? asked Buddha.

"Ananda said: It appears to me that this intelligent faculty, which has been proved to be incapable of knowing that which is within, and yet sees that which is without, lies hid as it were within the sense itself. Just as if there was a man who took a glass dish (lens), and held it up before both his eyes; this, although exterior to the eye, yet being joined to it, prevents not the eye from exercising its faculty of sight, and of distinguishing one object from another. So my intelligent faculty, not seeing that which is within, because it dwells in (or is joined with) the organ of sense, is yet no impediment in the clear perception of that which is without, because, as I suppose, it is secreted in the organ itself.

"Buddha replied: That which you now say is, that the intelligent faculty is secreted within an organ; as, for instance, the faculty of sight may be said to lie secreted in (or, united with) the glass (which is held before the eyes), so that (for convenience sake) the glass dish (or lens), through which a man looks, may be regarded as the prison of the eye; but in this case tell me, when

a man looks through the glass and beholds the distant mountains and rivers, does he not at the same time see the glass through which he looks?

"Yes, certainly, world-honoured one, he does.

"Then, Buddha continued, if your intelligent faculty corresponds to (a power hid within, or behind) this glass lens of which you speak, how is it, when you behold the distant hills and rivers, that you do not perceive the eye itself; and if you could see the eye, then the organ of sight and the object of sight would be the same thing, and there would be no completion of the relationship between object and subject; but if you do not see the eye, then how can you say that the intelligent faculty lies secreted within the organ, as glass united to the eye. You must be content, therefore, to give up this hypothesis also.

"Ananda resumed: World-honoured one, I venture to propose another theory. Within the bodies of all creatures there are the six viscera[1] and the five organs, whilst without there are the seven passages and the nine cavities. Now with regard to the vessels of the body, all is dark; whereas regarding the cavities, all is light. I propose, therefore, to Buddha this idea. When the eyes are open, then (the intelligent faculty) perceives the light; when the eyes are shut, then the intelligent faculty perceives the darkness (within). And this constitutes the difference between what is called seeing external objects and internal ones. What about this supposition?

"Buddha replied to Ananda: You say that when you close your eyes you see darkness. Let me ask with respect to the properties of this darkness—is it something adapted for the eye, or is it independent of it? If it is something adapted for the eye, then it must be placed before the eye (when it is perceived.) How, then, do you say that the process is an inward one? Or if it be an inward process, then it is just as if you considered yourself dwelling in a dark chamber without sun, or moon, or lamp. But let me ask in this case, would the darkness which is within the chamber in which you dwell be identical with your inward organs, which you say are naturally dark? But if you take the other alternative, and say that the nature of the percep-

[1] The stomach, gall, bladder, larger and smaller intestines and secreting passages.

tion of which we are now speaking is not adapted for the eye, then how can we speak of 'seeing' at all?

"But, putting on one side the question of external perception, let us suppose that, by turning the sight inwards when the eye is shut, there is what you call a process of perceiving the darkness within the body—let me ask, when you open your eyes, ought there not to exist the same power of turning the sight back so that you should perceive your own face? If not, then I do not see how you can speak of turning the sight inward, when the eyes are shut.

31.[1] "But if, for the sake of argument, you suppose that the eye is able to perceive the face, then it must follow again that both the intelligent mind and the eye itself exist externally to the body, *i. e.* in space. Let us suppose you consent to this, then it results that the eye, thus existing in space, is not a part of your own body. So that it is just as though you were to say that when Tathâgata now beholds your face, it is you who behold it; or if you still say that your eye, thus existing in space, has the power of individual perception, you must allow that your real eye has no power of perception at all, or else you would have two distinct organs of sight, and therefore you ought to see two Tathâgatas now before you instead of one. Altogether, therefore, we may conclude that your present theory is incapable of proof.

32. "Ananda resumed: I have repeatedly heard Buddha in his instructions to the four classes of his hearers[2] say 'that from the conceptions of the mind are produced every kind of sensible phenomenon, and from the influence of these phenomena again the various types of mind are produced.' I now surmise that the groundwork of this power of thought is the essence of my intelligent mind, and according to whatever subject of consideration is brought before it, that in the union of this essence with the external phenomenon,[3] the active intellectual mind resides, so that we cannot speak of it either as within or without or between.

[1] I have here commenced to number the clauses, in order to enable the student to refer to the original. By numbering each section in the original, the translation may be at once verified.

[2] Fah Hian, p. 155.

[3] This theory approaches very nearly to that of Aristotle respecting ὕλη and οὐσια, or the "conceptualist" argument.

33. "Buddha addressed Ananda: You say now, that by the generative power of the external phenomenon is produced every sort of individual mind, and that in the act of combination consists the active intelligent faculty; but the very fact of the mind not existing previous to this combination, proves that what we generally call 'mind' is but an empty word,[1] and therefore what combination can there be? But if it is possible for that which is so unreal, to form by combination a reality, yet in this case we should have to suppose that there are nineteen categories of sense (instead of eighteen), because there would be seven dusts or objects of sense instead of six,[2] which is contrary to all truth. But if you say that this mind has a real and substantial existence (*i.e.*, externally), then you can touch it with your hand—and moreover, the mind or essence which combines with the phenomenon must either come from within you or enter from without you; if the first, then we return to the theory already discussed and disproved, viz., of being able to see within the body; if the latter, then, before joining with the phenomenon, it should be able to distinguish the face of the possessor of it (which it clearly cannot do).

34. "Ananda objected. True! but yet it seems to me that the distinct duty of the eye is to see, and of the intelligent mind to recognise and discriminate, and therefore it is not right to speak of the mind as seeing. Buddha said: If the eyes are able

[1] The argument here, and also in the Pâramitâ works, to the effect that "individual mind" is unreal and a mere "word," coincides with Horne Tooke's theory, so ably followed up by his disciple, Edward Johnson (*Nuces Philosophicæ*, 1841). But the Buddhist goes beyond the sensational theory of these philosophers. Mr. Johnson says, "The fact is, every word has two meanings—a verbal meaning and a meaning in Nature: the meaning in nature is some thing or things capable of affecting us through the senses; if the verbal meaning does not direct us to the meaning in Nature, then it is nothing more than "vox et præterea nihil" (*Nuces Philosophicæ*, 270). So said the Buddhist; but he did not, therefore, deny the *existence* of that which neither the senses can apprehend nor words express.

[2] Vide *Daily Use of Shamans*, p. 32. The six dusts are the six objects of sense; the eighteen categories (dhâtu) are the six senses, the six objects of sense and the six species of knowledge resulting. The *ὀυσια* or essence would be a seventh object of sense, alluded to in the text.

to see independently of the mind, then, as you sit here within this Hall, may you not say that the doors see? Then, again, if your hypothesis is correct, a dead man ought to be able to see, because the physical structure of the eye remains unaltered; but if he can see, how do you say he is dead?

35. "Ananda, consider again with respect to your intelligent mind—if it is a real substantial entity—then it is either one, *i.e.*, a simple substance, or compound; and, then again, as it is located in your body, it is either everywhere present within its limits, or confined to certain points. Regard the mind as a simple and uniform substance, it would follow that, if you touch anything with one finger, then all the fingers ought to feel the contact, and if this is so, then the object touched can have no fixed locality, or if it has a distinct whereabouts, then the theory of the mind being one in its matter, cannot be maintained. But if the mind be complex, then when it takes cognizance of many men, which of the observing minds is yours? Again, if the intelligent mind be diffused in its substance, then the same difficulty about one finger touching a thing, and the rest not perceiving it, is to be answered. But if the mind be not diffused, but confined to one place, then if you touch your head and foot at the same time, if the head feels, the foot ought not to feel; but this is not the case; and therefore your supposition about the intelligent mind being identical with the result of combination between a phænomenon and a hidden perceptive essence, is not tenable.

36. "Ananda, replying to Buddha, said: World-honoured one! I have also heard you discoursing with Manjusri and other eminent disciples, when you were engaged in the discussion of the question of the true (or sole) condition (of Being), say, that the intelligent mind was located neither within nor without.

37. "As far as I can understand the question, it seems that we cannot say that the mind is placed within us, or else there is the difficulty of not seeing that which is within; and we cannot say that it is situated without us, or else there is the difficulty about the relationship of mind and body, so that we are driven to the conclusion that there is a medium somewhere, so that the mind is neither within the body nor beyond it,[1] *but between the two.*

38. "You speak of between the two, said Buddha; take care that this phrase does not deceive you, so that your 'between the

[1] Vide Cudworth, *Intellect. System*, vol. i, p. 10.

two' means 'nowhere'. Let us investigate it. Where is the place of this middle point? Does it reside in the sense which perceives or in the thing perceived? if in the sense, then it resides necessarily in the body, and therefore it cannot be spoken of as a 'middle point'. But if this point be placed in the object perceived, then, as every such object is different, there must either be an index by which its presence can be determined or not; if not, then to all intents and purposes the place of its existence is as if it were no place; if there be an index to its existence, then this shews the changing character of this point, just as a man fixing a gnomon of a dial, having ascertained the exact middle point (or mid-day point), then looking due east, he fixes the west point, and looking due south he fixes the north point; thus the gnomon is no index to one fixed bearing, but to any bearing that is desired. So, then, if the intelligent mind be considered as residing in the middle of the object perceived, there can be no certain guide for ascertaining its particular position, but we may arrive at any conclusion, according to the caprice of each individual.[1]

40. "Ananda said: When I spoke of the middle point, I did not allude to these two kinds of explanation; but to this, that as Tathâgata says that when the eye-sense unites with the object of sense, then eye-knowledge results; but as no knowledge can reside in the mere object—but the eye has the power of distinguishing one object from another—so I say that the intelligent mind resides in the midst of that eye-knowledge which results from the exercise of this function of sight (or other sense).

41. "Buddha said: If your intelligent mind resides in the middle of the sense and the object of sense, then the substance of this mind is either united with the two, or separated and distinct from the two.

42. "If united with the two, then there is a confusion of substance, so that the mind can no longer be regarded as a substantial unit; but there will be a mutual opposition betwixt the two hypostases, preventing the possibility of the middle entity of which you speak.

43. "But if there be no such union, then this intelligent mind

[1] The argument appears to be this: that the mind may reside in the midst of *any* object perceived, and that therefore it is impossible to fix its locality.

must partly partake of the character of the sense which you say has the power of knowing, and partly of the object of sense which you say has no such power. The mind, therefore, has no distinct character (nature); and if so, by what mark may you recognise it as it exists in the middle of these two opposing powers? You may conclude, therefore, that this hypothesis is not capable of proof.

44. "Ananda addressed Buddha, saying: World honoured! formerly I saw Buddha in the society of Maudgalyayana, Subhûti, Pourna, Sariputra, four great disciples, discoursing on the law; on this occasion I heard the following assertion, frequently repeated, that the nature of the intelligent and discriminating mind was such, that it could not be said to be within the body, nor without it, nor in the middle-point, but that that was rightly named the mind which in its very nature was without a local habitation, and without preference or active purpose. I should be glad to know, therefore, whether I may not define the intelligent mind as that which is 'indefinite,' and 'without partiality.'

45. "Buddha replied to Ananda: You now say that the nature of this intelligent and discriminating mind is altogether intangible and indefinite; now let me ask, when you speak of space, of water, of land, of flying, of walking, and all the different conditions of existence, which are generally classified under the phrase, 'all forms of being,' you perhaps regard all these things with indifference and your mind is unattached to them—but do they exist or not?

46. "If they have no definite existence, then they are like the hair of the tortoise or the horn of the hare (mere phantasies); how then can you speak of being indifferent to that which does not exist; for if there is such a thing as indifference, or such a state of being 'unattached,' then there must exist a real object from which you detach yourself, and therefore it cannot be spoken of as a 'nothing.' For that is 'nothing' which has no 'conditions' or 'qualities'; and where this absence of conditions does not exist, there cannot be an absence of that which is thus 'conditioned.' So long, then, as you speak of the mind being 'unattached,' so long you pre-suppose the true existence of something which is unattached, where then, I again ask, is this something? Your theory, therefore, will not bear examination.

47. "At this time Ananda, as he remained in the midst of the great congregation, rose from his seat, bared his right shoulder,

bent down upon his right knee, and with closed palms, addressing Buddha, said: I am indeed the very least of all Buddha's followers, ever grateful for the compassionate love which has brought me into this condition, and although I have left my home, am yet as a child dependent on a nurse, only a hearer and not arrived at any degree of perfection, unable even to destroy the evil influences of the sorceries of the Savara (Savakara, women), and therefore subjected by their enchantments to be led into the abodes of infamy; and all this from not knowing the precise limits of the Truth which Buddha declares. Oh! would that the world-honoured one, of his great compassion, would open out to me the way of Samadhi, so as to enable me, when engaged in contemplation, to destroy all blinding influences. Having spoken thus, Ananda prostrated himself on the earth, and all the congregation falling down, remained bent to the earth, anxiously awaiting the signal to arise and stand, as it would indicate the august purpose of Buddha to enter on the desired course of instruction.

48. "At this time the world-honoured one, from between his eyes (gates of the face), dispersed a succession of rays of light, brilliant and glorious as a hundred thousand suns. All the various worlds of Buddhas shook six times as with an earthquake, whilst the infinite lands of the ten regions of space in a moment appeared, whilst the mysterious spiritual power of Buddha caused all these worlds to unite as it were in one, and in the midst of this one world the entire body of Bôdhisatwas, all coming to this common centre, with closed hands, attentively listened.

49. "Buddha then spake to Ananda: The whole body of sentient creatures, from the first till now, has been (subject to) every kind of false impressions (inverted opinions); the consequence has been a spontaneous propagation of error, like the branches of the Gatcha tree;[1] so that men who have entered on the religious life have failed to attain to Supreme Wisdom, and have only arrived at the vain distinctions of Sravakas and Pratyeka Buddhas, or to the more imperfect forms of heretical belief. So it is that all the Devas Mâra and their followers have come to this state from simple ignorance of the two original root-seeds of error, pursuing a confused form of religious discipline, attempting, as it

[1] In Chinese "ngo-ch'a"; probably the banian tree (ganjâsana).

were, to make serviceable bread out of hot sand, and from the false opinion that it was possible to do so, remaining for ever without food.

50. "Say, then, what are these two seeds of error? Ananda, the first is that which results from (ignorance about) the ever present root of life and death, which causes you and all beings to look on your conditioned mind as your true Nature (or as possessing an independent Nature). The second is (ignorance about) the true basis of the pure form of Nirvâna, which generates in you that subtle form of inward knowledge[1] which gives you the power of originating the influences that, in the end, lead you away from a sense of this subtle essence, so that though to your last day you live and act by it, yet you know it not, and pass away into the different forms of perishable Being to which the power of error subjects you.

51. "Ananda, you now desire to know the way of Samâdhi, with a view to emerge from the sea of life and death. I ask you, therefore — meantime, Tathâgata, stretching out his golden-coloured arm, bent together his five fingers, and said: Do you see me doing this, Ananda? Yes, indeed, Ananda replied; I see you. What do you see, said Buddha? I see, Ananda replied, Tathâgata raising his arm, bending his fingers into the form of a shining fist, dazzling alike my mind and eye. Buddha said: Now, what is the instrument by which you see all this? Ananda said: I and all here present see this by the use of our eyes.

52. "Buddha addressed Ananda: Answer me truthfully! You say that as Tathâgata thus doubles his fingers together and makes a shining fist of them, that your mind and eyes are dazzled by the brilliancy of the same; but if it is your eyes which see the fist, of what good (or account) is the mind (heart) which you say my fist dazzles? Ananda replied: Tathâgata seems now to inquire as to the particular locality in which this mind of which I speak resides; and yet it is by means of this mind that I, of whom you inquire, am able to investigate the question on which we are speaking. I take it, therefore, that this mind is the power by which I investigate.

[1] This knowledge (shih tsing) is explained in the commentary by to-na. This may probably be the Sanscrit "'danyâ," denoting the subtle character of the knowledge in question ('danyâ, a coriander seed).

53. "Buddha replied: No, no, Ananda, this is not your mind. Ananda, in an agitated manner, quickly leaving his seat, with raised hands stood upright before Buddha and said: If this is not my mind,[1] tell me what is its name? Buddha answered: This is but the perception of vain and false qualities, which, under the guise of your true nature, has from the first deceived you, and caused you to lose your original permanent (soul), and involved you in the nexus of the metempsychosis.

54. "Ananda addressed Buddha again and said: World-honoured one! I am the favourite cousin of Buddha, and because my heart was moved with affection to your person, I left my home and became a disciple. My sole desire was to minister to Tathâgata, and to the utmost bounds of the innumerable earths, to render service to all the Buddhas; my further hope was to arrive at supreme knowledge, making every effort to practise without exception the most arduous duties of my religious profession. All this was the inward purpose of my heart; and to this same source also I trace every disobedient act, and every evil thought against religion; but if these efforts and intentions do not result from the heart, then I take it I have no heart at all, and am just the same as the different kinds of inanimate earths and trees—for by removing this capability of knowledge, you do in fact make its existence impossible. Explain, then, I pray, this paradox of 'this not being my heart.' I deeply reverence and venerate your presence; and with all this great congregation am heartily desirous to have my doubts removed, by hearing that which we do not understand explained.

55. "At this time the world-honoured one began his explanation to Ananda and the rest of the congregation, desiring to excite in them a consciousness of that mind which springs not from any earthly source. Sitting on his lion throne, therefore, he touched the top of Ananda's head and spoke thus: Tathâgata ever says, every phænomenon that presents itself to our knowledge is but the manifestation of Mind. The entire theory of the causes of production throughout the infinite worlds is simply the result of mind, which is the true substratum of all. Ananda, if all the varieties of 'being' in the collection of worlds, down to

[1] The original word throughout this section might be translated "heart"; but this word is so ambiguous, I take it, that the word corresponds to the Sanscrit "âtman" (self).

the single shrub, and the leaf, or the fibre of the plant, tracing all these to their ultimate elements—if all these have a distinct and substantial nature of their own (as you say)—how much more ought the pure, excellent, and effulgent mind, which is the basis of all knowledge, to have attributed to it its own essential and substantial existence.

56. "If, then, you examine this question, and still prefer to call the discriminating and inquiring mind by the name of Heart, you must at any rate distinguish it from the power that apprehends the various phænomena connected with the mere senses, and allow this a distinct nature. Thus, whilst you now hear me declaring the law, it is because of the sounds you hear there is a discriminating process within you; yet, after all sounds have disappeared, there still continues a process of thought within, in which the memory acts as a principal element, so that there is a mind acting as it were on the mere shadows of things.

57. "I do not forbid you to hold your own opinion on the question of this discriminative faculty, but I only ask you to search out the minutest elements of the question itself. If, after you have removed the immediate cause of sensation, there is still a discriminative power in the faculty of which we speak, then that is the true mind which you justly designate as yours; but if the discriminative power ceases to exist after the immediate cause which called it into exercise is removed, then this power is only a shadowy idea, dependent entirely on the presence of external phænomena; and therefore, when these are removed, the mind (as you regard it) becomes, as it were, a hair of the tortoise or the horn of the hare. So, then, the 'body of the law,'[1] as it is called, would be the same as something which does not exist; and who then would strive after emancipation?

58. "At this Ananda and all the congregation sat silently lost in thought. Buddha then addressed Ananda thus: Searchers after truth generally, although they may attain to the nine previous steps, seldom attain to the last deliverance found in the condition of a Rahat, and all this because they do not shake off the mistaken notion that this perishable and uncertain process of thought (which depends entirely on accidents) is true and real. And so it is that you, though you are one of the foremost of the

[1] Dharmakaya. The remark in the text proves that the "dharmakaya" was considered as a substantial *existence*.

Sravakas, have yet failed to attain to any degree of superior excellence.

59. "Ananda, having heard this, again melted to tears, prostrated himself on the ground, and, with his hands joined whilst thus extended on the earth, addressed Buddha: From the time when my heart first yearned after Buddha, to become his disciple, relying on his spiritual power, never did it suggest itself to me that there was any obstacle in the way of my becoming like Buddha himself, or arriving at Samâdhi, little did I then know of the disagreement between 'body and mind'; so that, although I had externally become a disciple, yet my heart had by no means entered on the limits of true wisdom—just like a child, helplessly taken from its father. Now, then, I also know that although I am accounted as one of the Sravakas, yet if I have made no due preparation, I am just as one who has never heard the law—just as a man who says he has eaten, but is never able to satisfy himself. World honoured one! I and the others, in consideration of the difficulties which beset us, humbly request Tathâgata to explain and simplify the question of the true heart, and exhibit to us the eye of Reason.

60. "At this time, Tathâgata, from the (Svasti) character which was on his breast, caused to pour forth a precious flood of light, its effulgence like that of the sun, its rays composed by a thousand colours, penetrating at once through the infinite worlds of Buddha, and concentrating throughout the infinite worlds on the heads of the various Buddhas; and then returning to Ananda and the rest of the Great Congregation. After which he addressed Ananda, and said: For your sake I sound the gong (ghanta) of the Great Law, in order to enable the whole body of sentient creatures to obtain knowledge of the mysterious and ever effulgent mind, through the knowledge of which they may arrive at perfect perception of the truth.

61. "Ananda, you said just now that you saw my shining fist. Now, what is it constitutes the brightness of which you speak? What is it causes the idea you have formed of the fist? and who is the person that sees all this? Ananda replied: The brightness of which I spoke results from the beauty of Buddha's body; it is my eyes that behold this beauty, and it is your own fingers held up and closed before us, that make the fist.

62. "Buddha replied: Tathâgata this day declares to you and

all those who have understanding, true wisdom, using the way of parable or comparison to convey to your minds his meaning. Ananda, taking the instance of my closed hand, I suppose if I had no hand there could be no closing it; and if you had no eyes there could be no seeing it; so that by means of your sense of sight, and my right manipulation of my fingers, the whole idea is completed of 'your seeing my fist'. Is this right or wrong? Ananda replied: It is right; oh, world-honoured one! for if I had no sight I could not see; whereas, by means of this sense, and your right manipulation, the idea is formed in my mind of your fist, resulting from the agreement of conditions, in each case.

63. "Buddha replied: This agreement of conditions, as you term it, is not a correct explanation of the case. For, consider, if a man has no hand, there is clearly an end of 'making a fist'; but if a man has no eye, there is not the same complete end of 'seeing'; for, just think a moment. Suppose you were going along a road, and you were to meet a blind man, and ask him, Do you see anything? That blind man would reply to you: I see only darkness before my eyes. Now, although there is no such thing as, in his case, seeing a variety of objects, yet still there is a distinct observation on his part, and the object before his eyes is 'darkness'. What, then, is wanting why this observation should not be called 'seeing'.

64. "Ananda said: How can you speak of an 'act of seeing', when the same darkness is always before the eyes of all blind people?

65. "Buddha replied: All blind people without eyes can only observe darkness; but now take a man who *has* eyes, and place him in a dark room. Is there any difference between the darkness which the blind man observes, and the darkness which the man sees who has eyes? No! replied Ananda; they are the same. Then, Ananda! suppose the blind man who observes only darkness were suddenly to receive his sight—so that he could perfectly see the various objects before his eyes—this you would call 'eye-seeing'; and now, suppose that other man who is in a dark room, and who sees nothing before him but darkness, were suddenly to have a lighted lamp brought into the room—so that he also got perfect knowledge of surrounding objects, would you call this 'lamp-seeing'?

66. "If so, then the lamp is able to see; but, if the lamp is

the same as the eye, why do you call it a lamp? And again, since the lamp would then have the power of observation, what concern would your eye have in the matter? You know, however, that the lamp is only able to make things visible, so that, as far as seeing is concerned, the eyes have a distinct function, opposed to the office which the lamp discharges, but nevertheless, when we speak of the 'power of sight', this no more resides in the eye than in the lamp.

"Ananda, although he continued to hear these words until their close, yet remained silent in the midst of the great congregation; for his mind was as yet unable to receive their meaning, only he waited in expectation of hearing the compassionate words of Tathâgata in further explanation—with closed hands and reverent feelings.

67. "At this time, Tathâgata, unfolding his beautifully soft and silken hand, displayed his five circle-marked fingers, and thus continued his discourse for the instruction of Ananda and all the great assembly.

"When I first arrived at complete inspiration (on the occasion of my preaching), in the Deer Park, for the sake of Adjñâta and the five mendicants, and all of you belonging to the four classes, my words were these: All creatures fail to attain supreme wisdom, and the condition of a Rahat, from the guest and dust[1] troubles of life which deceive them. Which of you, at that time, in consequence of my instruction, arrived at the condition of sanctity, which you now enjoy?

68. "Then Kâundinya,[2] rising from his seat, addressed Buddha, and said: I who am now so old, of all in the great congregation alone obtained the name of 'saved'; and it was because I understood the comparisons of the 'guest' and 'dust', that I obtained the fruit of salvation. World-honoured one, your comparison was this, that like as a traveller takes up his quarters at an inn, and having rested and drank sets out again on his weary

[1] Compare the comparison of the Egyptians mentioned by Diodorus Siculus. "The Egyptians called the dwellings of the living 'lodging houses'; the tombs, on the contrary, they called 'eternal homes'." Vide *Manual of Eastern History*, by Lenormant, p. 333; and Cudworth, i, p. 9.

[2] Adjnata Kâundinya (Kâundinya probably from "kund," to preserve); but vide *Lotus*, p. 489, and compare the Chinese gloss.

road, and has no leisure to rest or remain fixed (so is the unenlightened heart); whereas, the true master of the house, moves not from the place of his abode. Thus, also, we regard all that which is unfixed and uncertain as the travelling guest; but that which is fixed, we call the Master of the house; and, as we consider the condition of unrest, it is called the investigation of the 'Guest (comparison)'.[1]

69. "And, again, as in the case of a clear sky, when the bright sun rises up into the heavens, a ray of light perchance enters through a crack in a door, and spreading its brightness on the space through which it passes, exhibits all the particles of dust in commotion, as in the case of the dust, its nature is motion; but in the case of the space, its nature is rest: thus also, we may compare all that is calm and at rest to space; whilst all that is unsettled and unfixed we may call 'dust'. This also was the comparison. Buddha said: True! O, Kaundinya.

70. "At this time, Tathâgata, in the midst of the great assembly, doubled together his five-circled fingers, and having doubled them together he opened them out, and so again having opened them he shut them up, and then addressed Ananda, saying: What is it you have seen me do? Ananda replied: I saw Tathâgata's hundred-precious-circle palm in the midst of the assembly opened and closed. Buddha replied: When you saw this, was it my hand you saw open and shut, or was it your sight that opened and closed itself. Ananda replied: It was the hand of the world-honoured one that was open and closed in the midst of the great assembly; for the nature of my seeing faculty admits not of opening or closing. Buddha said: What, then, is it that moves and what is it which rests in this case? Ananda said: The hand of Buddha is that which is unfixed, and my seeing faculty is eminently a fixed one. What is there that can unsettle it? Buddha said: Just so.

71. "On this, Tathâgata, from the midst of his circled hand, let fly a glorious ray of light which located itself on the right of Ananda, and at the same time Ananda turned his head, and looked over his right shoulder. Again, Buddha let fly another ray, which fixed itself to the left of Ananda, on which he turned

[1] This is probably the same discourse as is given in *M. B.*, p. 180.

[2] Cudworth, vol. i, 9.

his head and looked to the left. Buddha then addressed Ananda, and said: Why did you just now turn your head? Ananda said: Because I saw light issuing from the precious hand of Buddha, and fix itself to the right and left of me, therefore I turned my head in those directions to see the light. Buddha said: Was it your head which moved, or your sight which moved? Ananda replied: It was my head which turned; my power of sight is fixed. What, then, can move it? Buddha replied: Just so.[1]

72. "Then Buddha continued: In this way men should regard all that is changeable as dust; and all that is unsettled as a travelling passenger.

"(Kiouen II.)

1. "At this time Ananda and all the great congregation, listening to the explanations of Buddha, with rapt attention, began to recognise the fact that from the earliest moment till now, they had utterly overlooked and lost the true Heart, and mistaken for it the false connections of external things, and the distinctions of mere shadowy appearances. But now they began to understand, just as a lost child who suddenly meets with its tender mother; and so with closed hands they adored Buddha, desiring above all things to hear Tathâgata open out and explain the differences between that which is body and that which is mind, the true and false, the empty and the real, and contrasting that which is visible and perishing with that which is invisible and eternal, to cause them to attain to a clear comprehension of the true nature (which is the basis of all which is called Mind).

2. "At this time Prasênadjit Râjah, rising from his seat, addressed Buddha: In former days, before I was brought to listen to the doctrinal teaching of all the Buddhas, I saw Kâtyâyana[2] Vâirattîputra, who always said that this body of ours after death, was completely destroyed, and this he called Nirvâna. And now, although I have met with Buddha, yet am not I altogether free from mistrusting doubts. Tell me, then, how I may obtain deliverance (from these doubts) and attain to the knowledge of this

[1] Παν σωμα εν τοπῳ, ουδεν δε των καθ' εαυτον ασωματον εν τοπῳ. Cud. ii, 775, and the whole context.

[2] Vide Julien, *Méthode*, 1813 and 1870; but compare also *Fo-koue-ki*,

imperishable principle which you call the Mind. We pray you in the name of this great assembly, many of whom are ignorant of this great truth, to enter on some further explanation of it.

3. "Buddha said: Mahârâjah! with respect to your present body, I would ask you, Is this body of yours like the diamond, unchangeable in its appearance, and ever fixed, and imperishable; or is it, on the other hand, changeable and perishable? The Râjah replied: World-honoured one! this body of mine, without doubt, in the end, after various changes, will perish.

"Buddha said: "Mahârâjah! you have not yet experienced this destruction of the body; how, then, do you know anything about it?

"World-honoured one! replied the King, with respect to this transient, changeable, and perishable body; although I have not yet experienced the destruction of which I speak, yet I observe the case of things around me and ever reflect that all these things are changing—old things die, and new things succeed; there is nothing that changes not! thus the wood that now burns, will be soon converted into ashes; all things gradually exhaust themselves and die away; there is no cessation of this dying out and perishing. I may certainly know, then, that this body of mine will finally perish. Buddha replied: Just so![1]

4. "Mahârâjah: Regarding yourself at your present age—now that you have begun to grow old—is your appearance the same as it was when you were a young child?

"World-honoured one! when in former years I was a young child—my skin was soft and delicate—gradually, as my years advanced, my pulses became stronger, and fuller, and now I am become an old man of sixty, my appearance has become withered and dried; my animal spirits low and sluggish; my hair white; my skin wrinkled—indicating that my future life will not be long. What, then, can be the comparison of my present appearance with that which I had when a child?

5. "Buddha said: Mahârâjah! with respect to your appearance, was there ever a period when this change was not going on?

p. 149 (3), and *Manual of Buddhism*, 292 (5). We see from these accounts that this heretic was probably the same as Sanjayabellanti. Notice also that Rémusat restores pi-lo-tchi by Vâirajî instead of Vâiratti.

[1] Tathâstu. Banerjea, 218. *On the Hindu Philosophy.*

The Râjah answered: World-honoured one! this change is secret and mysterious, which I can never hope to explain. Just as winter gave way to summer, and we gradually have come to the present time, so is it with me. For the case is just this—When I was twenty years old, although I was still called by my juvenile appellative, yet my appearance had already become old compared with my first ten years; when I was thirty, I was still changed from what I had been at twenty years; and now, when I am sixty years and two, looking back at the time when I was fifty, I was then, compared with my present state, hale and strong. World-honoured one! I find myself unconsciously changing; and, although I have instanced this gradual approach to death, by the changes I have experienced each decade of my life, yet if you will have me use more minute divisions, this change has been a yearly one; nay, each month and each day, the same decay has been going on; and, if I consider the case still more closely, every minute, every second (jana) there has been no fixity or continuance in one stay: I fully recognise the truth, therefore, that in the end my body must perish!

6. "Buddha said: Mahârâjah! you confess that from witnessing these ceaseless changes, you arrive at the conviction that your body must perish! Let me ask—When this time for your body to perish arrives, are you cognisant of anything connected with yourself that will not perish? Prasênadjit Rajah, with his hands clasped before Buddha, replied: Indeed, I am cognisant of no such (imperishable thing).

7. "Buddha said: I will now explain to you the character of that 'Nature' which admits of neither birth nor death. Mahârâjah: When you were a little child, how old were you when you first saw the River Ganges? The Râjah replied: When I was three years old, my tender mother led me by the hand to pay my devotions to Jiva Deva,[1] by this stream (flowing here in our sight), then it was I knew that this was (an affluent of) the Ganges.

8. "Buddha said: Mahârâjah, taking up your own illustration respecting your gradual alteration of appearance, through every decade of years, etc., of your life. You say that at three years of age you saw this river; tell me then, when you were thirteen

[1] Julien, *Méthode*, 541.

years old, what sort of appearance had this river then? The Râjah replied: Just the same as it had when I was three years old; and now I am sixty-two there is no alteration in its appearance.

9. "Buddha said: You now are become decrepit, white-haired, and wrinkled in face, and so your face has grown during successive years. Tell me, then, has the sight which enabled you to see the Ganges in former years become also wrinkled and increasingly so with your years. The King answered: No! World-honoured one.

10. "Buddha said: Mahârâjah! although, then, your face has become wrinkled, yet your power of sight has in its nature altered not. But that which becomes old and decrepit is in its nature changeable, and that which does not become so is unchangeable. That which changes again is capable of destruction, but that which changes not[1] must be from its origin incapable of birth or death. How is it, then, that together with this imperishable power of sight you possess, there has crept in that which is of its nature perishable and changing? and how is it still more that those heretics, Makhali and others, say that after the death of the body there shall be a clean end of all life.

The King hearing this, began to believe that after death there might perhaps be further life; and, therefore, with all the assembly accepted joyfully such a doctrine, and looked for further instruction.

11. "Then Ananda, rising from his seat, with clasped hands and prostrate form, addressed Buddha thus: World-honoured one! if this faculty of sight and hearing is of itself imperishable and incapable of birth or death, what then does your doctrine mean that I and others have lost our true nature, and all our actions are, as it were, inverted from their right purpose? Would that with your great compassion you would free me from the pollution of these doubts.

12. "Immediately, Tathâgata stretching forth his golden-coloured arm, pointed down his beautiful fingers to the ground, and spoke thus: Ananda, as you behold my Mudrâ hand, let me ask you, is it pointing up or down.

"Ananda replied: World-honoured, men generally regard the

[1] Vide the extract from the Bhagavad-gita. *Banerjea*, 210.

position which your hand now assumes, as downward; but, as for me, I know not what to call it—whether up or down. Buddha addressed Ananda: if, then, men generally call this position downward, what would they call 'upward'? Ananda replied: Tathâgata has but to raise his arm, and let his soft and silken hand point above into space, and that will be what men call 'upwards.'

13. "Buddha immediately lifted up his arm, and addressed Ananda, saying, If this is what men call turning upside down—or head to tail—then understand this, that your body, compared with the mysterious body of Buddha, may be likewise illustrated by this similitude—for the body of Tathâgata may be spoken of as upright in respect of its Nature—but yours as of an inverted or misdirected nature.[1]

14. "Now, then, consider, I pray you, your body and Buddha's body—which you speak of as so related. These names signify something, but where is the location of these two things thus related to one another? At this time Ananda, with all the great congregation, looked at Buddha in blank perplexity—not knowing where these two bodies locally resided.

15. "Buddha then, exercising his compassionate love—for the purpose of instructing Ananda and the great assembly—raised his voice, and thus addressed the whole assembly: Illustrious disciples, my constant words are these—all the thousand connections of mind and body (matter), and the offspring of mind, to wit, the various modifications of ideas, all these are but what the heart originates; your mind and your body themselves are but things made manifest in the midst of this mysteriously glorious and true essence called the perfect heart. What, then, can be the meaning of losing this perfect heart, and this mysterious nature—is there not some deception in these words? (or, are they not owing to the deceptive influences which exist in the midst of the heart?)

16. "Dark and obscure is the space around us! In the midst of this sombre, gloomy space, by the capricious intertwinings of

[1] The aim of this argument seems to be to prove that the difference between the pure Nature of Buddha and the Nature of Man is one of relation only, as "upright" and "perverted" are different relations of the same thing.

the darkness, forms are evoked. These capricious forms generate false reflections (in the Heart), and from these spring the ideas of Body. So the thousand connections which are aroused within the mind, pursuing still further the vanishing and capricious forms without, there arises an endless confusion—and so those ideas about the nature of the mind are caused, which is the first great deception; it is concluded as a certainty that all these thoughts are fixed within the material body, in ignorance that this body, and all external phænomena, rivers, mountains, space itself, and earth, are but things which exist in the midst of this ever true and mysterious Heart—just as if one should overlook the existence of the vast and innumerable oceans which are scattered through the universe, and centre one's thoughts and investigations on a single bubble (or drop), regarding it as the true sea, and overlooking the countless real oceans. So is it when a man centres his thoughts on this deceitful idea, that his individual mind is the true basis of all which exists, and so is led to multiply such existences indefinitely. This is the inversion which I wished to explain by raising my arm after holding it downwards.

17. "Ananda, following the deep and loving words of Buddha's argument, with tears coursing down his face, and his fingers clasped in anxious expression, spoke thus to Buddha: Although I have followed thus far the excellent sound of Buddha's voice, grasping the idea of the basis afforded by the perfectly enlightened and ever fixed and unchangeable Heart; and although I understand what Buddha says that this individual mind is but the result of connections with external phantasmagoria, yet I do not thoroughly understand what is the real substantive basis of this true heart—would that Buddha, with his pitiful sympathy with my doubts, would enter on and explain this subject more thoroughly.

18. "Buddha replied: "Ananda, if you and the others still listen to my words with your mind bent on capricious distinctions, the arguments which I propound being thus regarded through the medium of a false atmosphere, will no longer have for you the nature of a true law.

19. "Just as if one man pointed with his finger to the moon to shew it to another, and that other man thought that the finger was necessary in order to see the moon; or, if again looking at

the finger he were to regard it as a part of the moon, how could this man help thinking that when the crescent of the moon disappeared, then the finger of the man who pointed at it would also disappear. What then! because he considered the finger to be the same as the bright moon, supposing he lost sight of the finger, how could he help confounding the nature of darkness and light; and from this what could prevent him from affirming that the two distinct natures of darkness and light were not realities, but inventions?

20. "And so it is in your case—if you regard your discriminating mind as depending on the distinctive utterances of my law, then this discriminating mind of yours, in the absence of my distinctive utterances, should have no distinctive nature. Just as, by way of comparison, a traveller who comes to an inn lodges there for a time and rests, after which he departs, proving that he is not the owner and proprietor of the place—for this name is applied to him who resides and rests for ever in the house—so it is in the matter under consideration; if the discriminative faculty which comprehends my distinctive utterances be your own true heart, then it ought never to depart from its place, in what way, then, I should wish to know, does it retain its nature in the absence of the sounds of my voice? Well, then, if it does not do so, how is it that your discriminating faculty, even in the absence of my voice, is able to distinguish the beauties of my face?—or, at any rate, what is to prevent this conclusion that in the absence of all distinguishing qualities, then the distinguishing nature must cease to exist; and therefore there can in such a case be no distinctions between opposites—neither matter nor space—which is just the foolish argument of Gosala, and the others. But if there be really no such distinguishing power in the absence of material association, then your mind and your nature (spirit) is of this character, that they both depend on external accidents for their very existence;—where, then, in this case, is the "Master of the House"?

21. "Ananda replied: If my heart and nature are thus liable to intermittent action, then it seems to me that the mysterious and effulgent heart of which Tathâgata just now spoke, is liable to the same—or at any rate explain to me, I humbly pray, in what manner we may avoid this conclusion.

22. "Buddha addressed Ananda: As to the inward faculty,

which both you and I possess, of seeing external phænomena, which power is constant and unchangeable, although this power is not the same as the perfectly constituted heart, of which you last spoke, yet it is as the shadow of the moon in the water, easily mistaken for the reality. You ought, therefore, to listen attentively whilst I endeavour to show you how the perfectly enriched heart is incapable of any cessation in the exercise of its nature.

23. "Ananda, this great preaching hall, opening out to the full East, when the sun rises and ascends the heavens, is fully enlightened by his rays; but in the midnight of the moonless portion of the month, when the dark mists envelope the ground, then again all is dark within this chamber. Again, when the windows are ajar you can then look out and behold the space included within the surrounding walls which bound your view; and if you proceed to distinguish objects, then there are the various associations of sight—in the empty void there is the nature of space—the appearance of the dusty bushes reminds you of the dirty dust; and then again, when the mists clear away, and the pure sky shews out its depth, you are reminded of that which is pure and calm.

24. "Ananda, when you behold these various changeable phænomena, let me ask you to what source or original cause may you refer them all—tell me what is the particular ground on which each of these phænomena rests? Ananda said: All the phænomena which relate to the presence of light may be referred to the sun's disc. If there were no sun, there would be no light. Light is but the effulgence of the sun. I refer this therefore to the sun. Darkness, on the other hand, I refer to the moonless night. Looking through, I refer to the windows; the impediment in the way of my view, I refer to the stone wall which surrounds the garden; the various impressions (un) I receive I refer to my power of distinguishing objects—the emptiness I refer to space—the dusty bushes, to dust; and the bright pure sky I refer to the rain stopping. So it is all the phænomena in the world may be referred to their various connections.

25. "Buddha replied: Now, then, you regard the observation of these eight distinct phænomena as the result of the exercise of the active power of the faculty of sight; you should ask yourself *who* is it refers them to their several limits. What is it then?

If the several references depend on the light around you; then when there is no light, you ought not to be able to see darkness. But now consider that, although light and darkness differ, your power of sight differs not—what then can be the meaning of distinct references of sight? But do you say that these individual references are self-generated, and do not depend on you? Then how can you speak of your distinguishing this from that—if you are not concerned—and if not you, then who is it? Know, then, that your own original and essentially bright mind, has become deceived and entangled so that you have lost your original fixity, and become involved in the circle of births and deaths, and thus ever immersed in consequent misery; it is for this reason Tathâgata speaks of commiserating and pitying you.

26. "Ananda said: Although I understand that this original sight-Nature cannot be intermittent in its action, tell me how I am to know that this is my true Nature?

27. "Buddha addressed Ananda as follows: I ask you, now, at the present moment, although you have not attained complete emancipation (or complete spiritual power), yet exercising the spiritual power you possess, you are able to obtain a sight of the first Dhyani Heavens, without hindrance. Aniruddha, on the other hand, is able to see the whole of Jambudwîpa as an Âmra fruit (mango) in his hand; whilst the various Bôdhisatwas are able to see the Great Chiliocosm; and the Tathâgatas of the ten regions are able to see the infinite dust-like worlds (pure lands, Kshetras) scattered through space, compared with whose power of vision men can but see an inch before them.

28. "Ananda, supposing you and I are looking at the palaces occupied by the four kings;—on every side we see the sea and land, as we pass through space;—although we but dimly recognise, in the distant gloom, the various appearances of objects, yet there is nothing indistinguishable, so that you can clearly separate this from that. Now, I select a particular object for you to look at, and I ask you, What is this power of sight (personal substance),[1] and what is it makes these figures of objects which you see? Ananda, exert your utmost power of

[1] Or, what is the (or, who is the) real person that sees, and what is the character of the thing seen. [The whole of this translation is unsatisfactory.]

sight, let your observation reach to the palaces of the Sun and Moon, these external objects are not your personal substance; look at the seven golden mounts (that encircle the earth), observe well their whole circuit, although here you see everything clearly, still these external objects are not your personal substance; and now gradually behold the clouds, the birds, the moving winds and the clouds of dust, the trees and mounts and valleys, the herbs and shrubs, men and beasts, all these are not your personal substance.

29. "Ananda! the nature of all these things which are scattered far and near around you is different, yet the power of sight which you possess, and by which you distinguish these several differences, remains the same. This power, excellent and bright, is clearly then your sight-nature.

30. "But if the seeing resides in the things, then you by your sight can see my sight; but if you say that we both see, or that our sight is the same, then, when the things which I see are removed from my sight, you ought to see the place of my not-seeing; but if you can really see the place of my not-seeing, this is but a contradiction of terms, for then the phrase not-seeing is applied unjustly to a place that can be seen; but if you cannot see the place where my not-seeing is, then there is a spontaneous annihilation of that which did exist, and why not an annihilation of you yourself.

31. "Once more, if you still suppose that your sight, when you have once beheld an object, is identified with that object, then that object ought to be able to see you, and thus matter and spirit (Nature) are blended; and so both you and I, and all material substances are one and the same; but this makes all argument impossible.

32. "Ananda! if, when you see me, this power of sight which you have is your own and not mine [and if, when I see you, my power of sight is mine and not yours], and yet this sight-nature is everywhere diffused, let me ask what *is* that which you speak of as "not yours."

34. "Ananda addressed Buddha and said: World-honoured one! if my sight be the same as the sight-nature of Tathagata, everywhere diffused, how is it that now, as I sit in this hall, I see but this alone? Is it possible that this power can be changeable, sometimes great and sometimes small? or can

the impediment of a wall confine that which is so vast in its nature? I am unable to explain in what the just solution of this difficulty is found. Would that your compassionate love would exercise itself in explaining this matter on my account.

35. "Buddha replied: The mode of expression which refers all worldly things to some one of the descriptions, of great, small, within, without (square, round), and other modifications, results from the shifting nature of the phænomenal world, and in no way can it justly be attributed to the contraction or expansion of the seeing power.

36. "Just as though you had a square vessel—in this vessel you see a square hollow space—and I were to ask you, 'the square space that you see in this vessel, is it a permanent division of space or not?' if it is a fixed and distinct allotment, then substitute a round vessel for the square one, and the space ought not to be round; but if it is not a fixed shape, then, when you speak of the square space in a square vessel, there is a confusion of terms, for there is no such fixed thing as a square space. You say that you know not in what place to find the just solution of the question under consideration—the nature of all solutions like these is the same as the use of the conventional word 'space' of which I have been speaking—how, then, can you speak of seeking it in a particular place?

37. "Ananda, if you wish to arrive at a just apprehension of that which admits of no such limitation as round or square, then all you have to do is to dismiss the contraction of your idea to a square vessel, then the substantial character of space will be understood as that which admits of no such quality as round or square. How much rather, then, ought you to dismiss the idea of finding out the place where this quality of round space or square space dwells?

38. "So it is when you ask how it is that on entering this Hall your sight becomes contracted, and on looking up to the Sun it becomes extended, so that you can see the vast vault of heaven; and how, again, it is that the wall limits your view, but if a hole be made in it then your view is enlarged. I say so it is that this reasoning has no force.

39. "But all sentient creatures, from the very first, having been deceived by external objects, have lost their true Nature, and have been carried by things here and there, and therefore have got hold of this idea of seeing much and seeing little.

40. "If, then, you are able to understand the real character of these external objects, then you become the same as Tathâgata, your mind and body perfect, immoveably fixed, enabled to embrace in your grasp of mind the infinite worlds.

41. "Ananda addressed Buddha, saying: World-honoured! if this sight-power is the same as my mysterious Nature, then this Nature of mine ought to be before me; and if this sight-power is the same as my true Nature, then what is my mind, so-called, and what my body? For my present body and mind have evidently a true distinction, but that true Nature admits of no distinction or separation from my body. If, then, this true Nature is the same as my mind, I should certainly be able to see it; but if I could see or recognise this Nature as my true self, then my body, on the other hand, would not be my true self. And what would prevent the first difficulty which Tathagata named, that is, that external things ought to see me, as well as I see external things. Would that, of your great compassion, you would explain these difficulties.

42. "Buddha replied: Now what you say about the power of sight being before you, this theory is out of the question; for if your true power of sight is before you, then, as the subtle essence occupies a particular space, there can be no difficulty at once in pointing to it. Suppose, then, as we now sit in the Jetavana, we see around us the groves of trees and the tanks, and the beautiful Hall in the midst, above us the Sun and Moon, before us the River Ganges, and you in front of my Lion throne; with my finger I point out the natures of these various objects: that which affords the shade is the grove; that which causes the brightness is the sun; that which breaks the view is the wall; that which permits you to extend your view is the empty space, and so on down to the single shrub and tree;—for all of these objects, whether great or small, might all be thus indicated. If then this sight-power dwells before you, you ought to be able with your hand, without any uncertainty (k'heŏ), to point out its true limits. What, then, is this sight-power? Ananda! if space is it, when you have completed an act of vision, then what is space? If the objects around us be it, then, having completed an act of vision, what becomes of these objects? and so on with the infinite varieties of objects around you, the same disproof holds good; for, if any of these be your original and subtle sight-

power, then when that power is used, they must each of them disappear, whichever it be.

43. " Ananda said: I am now sitting in this storied-preaching hall, at a distance (my eyes) reach to the River Ganges; above me are the sun and moon; if I raise my hand, it is that which points; directing my eyes, it is thus I behold; pointing out all these things, it certainly is not these which see. World-honoured one! It is according to what Buddha says—for if neither I, who have only arrived at imperfect knowledge, nor the Bôdhisatwas, can discover in the various objects before us any sight-power, then, if all those things were removed, I conclude the sight-nature would remain the same. Buddha replied, True! Trne!

44. " Buddha again addressed Ananda and said: According to what you say, that, in the absence of any seeing-power, when all things are taken away, yet the seeing-nature remains, and that, therefore, the things which you now point at are not themselves possessed of any seeing-nature, I now again ask you, as you here sit with me in the Jêtavana and behold the trees of the garden and the sun and moon, etc., it is plain that as these objects do not possess any sight-power, there can be no sight-power given to you by the things which you point at. You must tell me, then, which it is amongst all these external objects which possesses the opposite power, viz., of resisting-sight (non-sight [fi kin]).

45. " Ananda replied: Indeed, as I look round on this garden of Jeta, I cannot understand what to say about this opposition to sight, of which you speak;—for what is it; if the trees possess this attribute, how is it we see the trees? but if, on the other hand, the trees are the means of seeing, then how are they called trees; and so we might go on with every object, as, for instance, space; if space is possessed of this non-sight attribute, what is the meaning of the expression 'seeing space.' I conclude, therefore, that amongst the infinite varieties of objects, there is not one that can be spoken of as 'opposed to sight.' Buddha said, Just so!

46. "At this time the great congregation, exclusive of the Rahats, hearing Buddha's words became confused, being unable to follow out the mode of Buddha's argument from beginning to

end; and so were filled with anxiety because they had lost the clue.

47. "Tathâgata, knowing the distracted condition in which their minds were thus placed, his heart moved with compassion, he desired to give rest and comfort to Ananda and the others, and to inspire them with the assurance that the Supreme Law-giver would not mislead his disciples, and that all he spoke must be True, not like the four kinds of confused exposition about 'not dying,' uttered by Makhali, but plain and comprehensible, if only carefully considered.

48. "At this time Manjusri, Dharma-rajah-putra, filled with compassion for the four classes of disciples, in the midst of the congregation arose, and, bowing his head down to Buddha's foot with closed hands and reverential mien, addressed Buddha thus: World-honoured one,—The members of this great congregation do not comprehend the illustrations of Tathâgata, touching the two subjects of sight-power and immaterial existence, the argument appears contradictory.

49. "World-honoured! if these appearances which lie before us connected with matter and space are really visible, then there is something we may rightly indicate as being distinguishable, or possessing the attribute of 'being visible;' but if they do not possess this quality, then we ought to say that these things are not visible by their absence from our sight. We, therefore, are uncertain where these theories may lead; the congregation, therefore, has anxiety; these contradictions may, perhaps, loosen the former hold of faith;—would, then, that Tathâgata, out of his great compassion, would reconcile for us these apparent discrepancies, viz., how these appearances, and this sight-power, existing in the original state of things, could do so without clashing or opposition.

50. "Buddha addressed Manjusri and all the congregation: The Tathâgatas of the ten regions, and all the great Bôdhisatwas, dwelling in their own self-contained state of Samâdhi, to them sight and the associations of sight and all the attributes of thought are but as an empty flower of space (aurora), in their real character being unsubstantial; so then, sight and its associations being thus unreal when considered in connection with the excellent and glorious and pure state of True Knowledge (Bôdhi), how can you refer to that condition the question of there being

such things as seeing and not-seeing, or there not being such things.

51. "Manjusri! I now ask you, are you really Manjusri, or is there, in addition to this one, another Manjusri, or is this Mánjusri whom I see before me the only Manjusri?

"Just so! world-honoured one! I am the true Masjusri, there is no other but me! for why? if there was another, then, as I am certain that I am myself, there cannot be room in the consciousness of this truth for any question of 'is there,' or 'is there not,' another.

52. "Buddha said: So do all the false appearances of the world (space), and this very excellent power of sight itself appear in the mind of the excellently bright and insurpassable glorious Bôdhi; 'seeing' and 'not seeing' are confused terms (*i.e.*, terms of no meaning in the supreme consciousness), and all the associations of seeing and hearing, just as the second moon which appears in the water; what is the moon? and again, what is the absence of this moon? Manjusri! there is but one moon, and (in its supposed consciousness) there can be no question of whether this one is itself, or whether there be another self.

53. "Wherefore, when you consider these various phænomenal appearances and the sight itself, you should consider them only as names which give rise to empty speculations; and from such elements you can never arrive at any firm conclusion of 'being' or 'not being.' It is only from this true essence, which I call the 'glorious nature of mysterious wisdom,' that we can ever safely conclude as to any explanations of truth or falsehood.

54. "Ananda addressed Buddha saying: World-honoured one! as I consider what you, our Supreme Lawgiver, say, that the associations (operations) of supreme wisdom are not confined to any spot; but that they are deep and ever fixed and self-contained, that the true nature is incapable of birth or death, it appears to me that this agrees generally with the discursive and inconclusive speculations of the old Brahmachârî Savakara, and also inclines to the opinions of the Nirgranthas and other heretics, who say 'that there is a true personal *I* diffused throughout the whole universe.'[1] I pray you how does your opinion differ from theirs?

[1] Vide *supra*, p. 175.

55. "World-honoured one! Moreover, in the assembly at Lañkagiri, where, on the ground of your great compassion, you also exhibited your doctrine;[1] those heretics there always repeated their opinion about spontaneous phænomena, in contradistinction to your theory of connected causes; but now it seems to me that this nature of which you speak, universally diffused, must exist spontaneously, as it neither suffers life nor death; for the removal of all the unreal and deceptive associations of sense, necessitates a contradiction to the theory of connected causes, and makes us revert to the 'spontaneous' theory of these heretics,—pray explain this to me, lest I should fall into a false way of thinking, and so that I may hold intact the truth of a real and essential mind, and an excellent and ever-glorious nature.

56. "Buddha said: Ananda! notwithstanding the clear manner in which I have exhibited my doctrine, asking you plainly and clearly for your opinions, I yet perceive that you understand nothing, and so you are misled about this question of spontaneous existence. Ananda! if you must needs lay hold of this opinion about self-caused or spontaneous existence, then the 'self' ought to be clearly discerned, the substance and basis of this self-caused and self supporting existence.

57. "Suppose, then, in the exercise of this mysterious and excellently glorious vision, you are observing things around you, tell me in what does the 'self' of this power consist—is it due to the bright light of the sun? or is it attributable to the presence of darkness? is it the existence of space which constitutes the ground-work of this 'self'? or is it the presence of obstacles that constitutes this self? Ananda! if the bright presence of light is the groundwork, then, as this presence is the substantial basis of vision, what can be the meaning of seeing 'darkness.' If space is the basis of this 'self-caused' power, then, how can there be such a thing as an interruption of sight by any obstacle; or, if any of the various accidents of darkness be considered as the substantial basis of the 'self,' then, in the daylight the power of seeing light ought to disappear—what, then, is the meaning of the expression 'seeing light.'

58. "Ananda said: Of necessity I allow that this mysterious

[1] This seems to refer to the subjects of discussion found in the Lañkâvatâra Sûtra.

(bright) power of sight, its nature being opposed to that which is 'self-acting' or 'self-caused,' must depend on connected causes for its origin, but I would further inquire of Tathâgata how the doctrine which he has enunciated to-day, can agree with this theory of connection of cause and effect.

59. "Buddha said: You now speak of 'cause and effect,' let me ask you—Is the *cause* of your seeing (of which sight is the *effect*) in the light or darkness, or is it because of space, or of obstacles in space? Ananda! if this seeing nature depend for its existence (as an effect) on the light (as a cause), then, when it thus exists, it cannot be able to appreciate darkness (for then it would cease to be), and so on for the rest.

60. "You should be satisfied, therefore, that this subtle power of sight, essentially glorious, depends not for its existence, either on cause or connection, it is not what is termed self-caused, nor yet the opposite of this. In its origin it admits not of negation or the absence of negation; it agrees not with positive assertion or the absence of it; it is independent of all conditions and also of all phænomena (laws).

61. "Now then, perhaps, you will say how can we apprehend or lay hold of this heart (self) which exists in the midst of all these phænomena, especially in consideration of the infinite number of foolish theories which men have started about conditions of being and divisions of terms; you might as well, with the palm of the hand moving through space in a thousand fantastic ways, expect the space to lay hold of your hand (or to lay hold of space).

62. "Ananda addressed Buddha, saying: World-honoured one! if it is necessary to disconnect this sight-nature from all causes or concatenations, tell me what it is you mean by saying that the sight-nature is influenced by or dependent on four associations, viz., by space, light, mind, and the eye.[1] What is this theory? Buddha said: Ananda! this doctrine of mine concerning the conditional connections of things is not my highest flight of doctrine.

63. "Ananda! I again ask you—Men say 'I am able to see.' What is this thing they call seeing? and what is 'not seeing'? Ananda said: Men, by means of sun or moon or lamp-light, behold every kind of phænomenon; they say then 'I see;' in the absence of these they say 'I see not.'

[1] Vide *supra*, p. 178.

64. "Ananda! if, in the absence of these three kinds of light, there is no 'seeing,' then a man certainly ought not to see the dark; if he is obliged to see the darkness, this darkness being only the absence of light, how can you say he does *not* see in the dark? Ananda! if when a man cannot see the light you say he cannot see at all; and when he is in the light you say he cannot see the (what is called) darkness, then this term of 'not seeing' is unfixed, it has two marks by which it may be known; if, then, these two conditions of 'not seeing' should become mutually intermixed, then your sight-nature must disappear and become suddenly a nonentity. Know, therefore, that the word 'seeing' is rightly applied, whether it be dark or light. What, then, is the meaning of the expression 'not seeing'?

65. "Therefore, Ananda! you ought to know that when you see the light, the seeing does not depend on the light; when you see the darkness, the seeing does not depend on the darkness; when you see space, the seeing is not concerned with the idea of space; and so also with the limitations of space.

66. "These four deductions being settled, then we proceed to say that when we exercise the power of sight through the medium of this very sight power, that, even then, seeing does not depend on this sight-power; nay, whilst 'seeing,' we may be still at a distance from 'true sight,'—nor by the exercise of sight do we necessarily exercise the power of 'true sight,'—how much less, then, can we speak of connected causes, or self-causation, or agreement of the object and subject, as constituting true sight.[1]

67. "You Sravakas, having only a limited perception, cannot attain to (through the false mediums around you) the idea of a true and perfectly tranquil condition of being. I, therefore, now lead you, and on your part there should be a virtuous resolution to reflect narrowly on what I say, lest you should mistake the true way to Supreme Knowledge.

68. "Ananda addressed Buddha, saying: World-honoured one!

[1] This argument is worded epigrammatically, and is therefore difficult to translate. It seems to imply that "sensuous vision" and the true power of sight, or the exercise of the true "sight-power" or "sight-nature," are distinct questions. We must observe that the three theories which this part of the book is designed to overthrow are these, that the exercise of sight depends—(1) on connection of cause and effect; (2) it is self-caused; (3) it is the result of harmonious combination.

when Buddha for our sakes, who were but half-enlightened, exhibited the system of 'connected causes,' and the principle of 'self-causation,' and the conditions of 'agreement and non-agreement (of relations),' our minds could only partially receive the truth; and now, in addition to all this, we hear the doctrine 'that seeing is independent of sight.' Oh! would that your peculiar compassion for the ignorant would move you to bestow on us the eye of wisdom, and open out for us these difficulties, so that we might all obtain perfect understanding! Having thus spoken, his tears falling in great abundance, he prostrated himself before Buddha awaiting the Sacred will.

68. "At this time the world-honoured one, compassionating the case of Ananda and the great congregation, conceived the desire to exhibit for their benefit the great Dhârani, the all-important mode of preparing the way to all the Samâdhis; he, therefore, spoke to Ananda, and said: Although of such vigorous mind, you are as yet only a hearer,[1] and your heart but little versed in the exceedingly mysterious and minute exercises of Samâdhi—you should, therefore, attentively listen whilst I open out and distinguish for your sake the true road to this, and enable you and other imperfectly instructed disciples to obtain the fruit of Bôdhi.

69. "Ananda! all sentient creatures are involved in the net of transmigration from two principal errors (inversions); these errors lead to false distinctions of sight, which give rise to birth, and generate the causes of the circle of repeated existencies. Say, then, what are the two views—first, all creatures having become entangled in different destinies, look at things through a mistaken medium; second, all creatures using the distinctions of sight, already adopted, are equally involved in these false apprehensions of things.

70. "Say, then, what description is this, 'of being entangled in different destinies,' and thus taking wrong views of things? Ananda! it is like a man whose eye is afflicted with a cataract: at night, when the light of the lamp shines before him, he thinks he sees a round shadow encircling the flame, composed of the five colours interlacing one another.

71. "What think you with regard to the perception of this round effulgence encircling the flame of the night lamp—is the

[1] "Parceque tu es encore Sêkha." *Lotus*, 296.

beautiful colour in the lamp, or is it in the eye? Ananda! if it is in the lamp, then why does not a man whose sight is healthy see it? if it is in the sight of the person, then, as it is the result of an act of vision, what name shall we give to the power that produces these colours?

72. "Again, in continuation, Ananda! if this circular halo has a distinct existence independent of the lamp, then, if it should happen that the person so described should approach the hanging screen and look at it, there ought to be the same circular halo on that also; but if this appearance has a distinct existence independent of sight, then it ought to appear without using the eyes, but then how can we say that it is a person with cataract who sees the halo?

73. "We conclude, therefore, that the object[1] looked at, *i. e.*, the flame, is dependent on the lamp, that the circle is the result of imperfect vision, that all such vision is connected with disease, but that to see the cause of disease (the cataract) is curative of the disease itself.[2] So that, when the disease is once known, we cannot say justly that this lamp (circle) is (a disease of) sight; still less can we say that in the midst of all this there is neither lamp nor sight.

74. "So in the case of seeing a second moon in the water, we know that this partakes neither of the substance of the true moon, nor is there any circle of water. What then? the effort which completes the full apprehension of this second moon, in the case of those who have supreme wisdom, cannot be called an effort of their essential knowledge, which involves the question, 'Is this the true moon or not?' or, 'If I put my power of sight on one side, is there no such thing as seeing?'—so also, in the previous question about the cataract on the eye—causing the appearance of a halo round the lamp—it is no part of the wise man to inquire, 'Is this the lamp's fault, or the sight's fault?' Much less is it right to divide the question further into, 'What

[1] The symbol "sih" has two meanings, either "colour" or "matter."

[2] That is, when once the disease is known *as* a disease, then no ill effect can follow; as, for instance, if a person with diseased sight knows that the fanciful colours, etc., which he sees are merely the result of his imperfect organs of vision, then he is, so far, restored to perfect vision, or at any rate he is freed from self-delusion.

would be the consequence of the lamp being taken away, or the sight being taken away?'

[I omit, from this point, sections that appear redundant.]

77. "So, then, just what you and other creatures see now, viz., mountains, rivers, countries, and lands; all this, I say, is the result of an original fault of sight—mistaking sight for the association of sight—the cataract, as it were, on the true and ever-glorious power of sight which I possess.

78. "If, then, this imaginary power of sight be, as it were, a cataract on the eye of my true sight, then it follows, as a matter of course, that the pure and bright mind of my True science in seeing all these unreal associations is not afflicted with this imperfection: that which understands error is not itself in error; so that, having laid hold of this true idea of sight, there will be no further meaning in such expressions as hearing by the ears, or knowing by the sight.

79. "This faculty, then, which we, and all the twelve species of creatures possess, and which we call sight—this is the same as the cataract on the eye—it is the imperfection of true sight; but that true and original power of vision which has become thus perverted, and is in its nature without imperfection—that cannot properly be called, what we mean when we say, sight.

81. "If, then, we are only able to banish and destroy all these influences which have blended and intermixed with the True, so that they shall no longer so intermingle, then once more we may put an end to the causes of life and death, and arrive at the perfection of Bôdhi—obtain the deathless Nature, the Ever Pure and composed heart, the true and unchangeable condition of accomplished Wisdom.

82. "Ananda! although you have previously allowed and understood that the pure and ever-glorious state of Buddha's original Being is in its nature totally disconnected from any causal concatenation, and also from any self-caused influences, yet your thoughts on the subject are still not entirely clear; you must, therefore, understand further that this Nature is not dependent on harmony or union (with other things), and is not the result of any such supposed harmony or union.

83. "Ananda! I now again refer to the objects of sense which

like dust surround us, and ask you, You still regard all these different illusory theories which exist in the world, touching harmony and union, causal concatenation, and so on, as having a real Nature, and so you create doubts in yourself about the character of the State of Perfect Knowledge, as if this also were the result of harmony and union? I ask you, therefore, if it is so, with respect to the True and essential power of sight you possess, does this power depend on its harmony with the light, or its harmony with the darkness, or its harmony with that which is penetrable, or its harmony with that which is impenetrable?

85. "If you say that this excellent gift of sight is the result of a union either with light or darkness or space or matter—if with light, then in darkness how can there be such a thing as seeing the darkness; and so on for the rest.

86. "Ananda addressed Buddha and said: World-honoured one! as I grasp the subject, I conceive that this excellent and original state of wisdom has no harmony with, or union with, the associations of sense or the confused thoughts of the mind.

87. "Buddha said: You say now again that this state of wisdom is not the result of harmony or union (with external associations). I ask you, therefore, with respect to this excellent power of sight which is not the result of such harmony or union, is the *negation* of which you speak attributable to the light, or the darkness, etc.;—if this negation is owing to an absence of harmony existing in the light, then there must be a distinct line of division between this light and the power of sight. Consider, then, where is the local habitation of the light, and where the habitation of your sight; if they both occupy one place, how can there be opposition betwixt them. Ananda! if the light occupies an independent space, then in that space there can be no seeing; for there can be no connection there between the sight and light, and therefore there can be no knowledge of the place where this light dwells; how, then, can there be any settled division between the two?

88. "Again, this excellent power of sight depending on no harmony or union, is it the negation of light-union, or darkness-union, etc.; if it is the negation of light-union, then light and sight, regarded as distinct natures, are at cross purposes and unfit for one another, like the ear and light, there can be no mutual

fitness for connection; but if the sight cannot apprehend the distinct place of the light, then how can there be any distinct arrangement for the admission of light, say, on the part of the potter (who makes his vessels semi-lucid); and so on for the rest.

89. "Ananda! You still, perhaps, misunderstand the truth that all the vanishing appearances around us, and all the flitting, unreal conditions of being, of which we speak, have, nevertheless, a distinct place of origin, and also disappear according to a fixed order; for those so-called vanishing qualities are really part and parcel of the substance of the excellent Body of Wisdom—even down to the five skandhas, and the six ayatanas, and the twelve upasthânas, and the eighteen dhatus—all these, and the ideas of causal concatenation, etc.—all have a distinct origin, and because of the cessation of these causal influences they are said to disappear; but to ascertain the precise point when they come and when they go is not possible: we must look for that in the Supreme Nature of the First Cause, and beyond that we can ascertain nothing.

90. "Ananda said: How can these five skandhas be ever part of the excellent Nature of Tathâgata.

91. "Ananda! it is just as if there were a man who, with perfect sight, beheld the pure void of space, but fixed his eyes on one particular spot, beyond which he did not look or move his eyes, staring until his sight was fatigued—the consequence of which would be that he would soon behold in the sky a fanciful flower-shaped apparition, which would give rise to every confused sort of false appearance. So it is also in the question before us about the fanciful terms of skandha, etc.

92. "Ananda! These flower-shaped fancies do not come from the space, nor are they born from the eye; for if they come from space, then having come from space, they should return to it and enter it again; and if there be such a thing as coming from and re-entering that which we call space, it is plain it is not space; and if space be not space, then how can we find a place for the origin and disappearance of these flower fancies? for this would be just as though the substance of Ananda, could not tolerate or find room for Ananda himself.

93. "If these appearances proceed from the eye, then, having gone forth from the eye, they should also be able to enter the eye

as their place of origin; and then, as these fanciful appearances take their origin from the eye, they ought to be one with the power of sight if they have this character, then on returning they should see the eye; but if these fanciful appearances partake not of the power of sight, having gone out of the eye, they must be of the nature of obstacles or screens in space; and then, on returning, they ought to screen or cover the eye; but there ought to be no screen before the eye when these things are seen, because the hypothesis demands that the unclouded eye is looking into undefiled space.

94. "Know, therefore, that these empty qualities of matter, which we call Skandhas, are neither owing to casual concatenation or of spontaneous origin.

95. "Ananda! to use a comparison, it is as if there were a man whose hand or foot, by excessive rest, had become so numbed that suddenly he has the sensation of a new feeling which renders the limb of dubious character, neither obedient to the will nor yet disobedient, this man would not on that account suppose that he had two hands. Just so with the subject we are considering.

97. "Ananda! it is just as if a man were to be talking or discussing about sour fruit (plum), his mouth would begin to water; or if a man were to think about going down some dreadfully precipitous and dangerous mountain pass, his heart and feet would give way and shew their sympathy with his thoughts— so is it in the case before us.

98. "In the case of the sour fruit, the origin of the mouth-watering is not to be found in the fruit; for, if it proceeded from the fruit, why does the effect follow only on the talking and not before; or, if it proceeds from something entering the mouth, then, as the union taking place depends on the hearing the mention of sour fruit, why does not the watering take place in the ear instead of the mouth; we gather then that all such phænomena as these depend on no casual concatenation, nor are they of a self-caused nature.

104. "Ananda! it is just as if you took a (Kala)bingka jar [a jar in the shape of this bird] and, stopping up both its orifices, carried it full of emptiness to a place one thousand li off, and then opened the jar for the benefit of affording its contents for the use of the resident inhabitants of that country. So also are the unreal and shadowy fancies that arise in the mind about external things.

105. "Ananda! As the space in the jar could not be said to come from that country, nor to enter into this country; for, if it came from that, then there ought to be as much less space in that country as the jar has carried out of it; or, if it enters into this, then, on opening the jar and turning it upside down, one ought to see the space come out, so we ought also to regard the false and shadowy appearances around us; they are neither dependent on causal concatenation or self-caused.

The argument then proceeds to shew that the fancied power of sight is not the only hallucination existing in the supreme state of Bôdhi, but that the faculty of hearing, smelling, tasting, touching, apprehending [for *manas* (mind) is considered one of the senses, in exact agreement with the 'sensationist' school of Hobbes] are all hallucinations existing in the true condition, yet existing as a disease; and so also the twelve upasthas or *places* (chu) [*i.e.*, the point or place of union between the perceiving sense and the object perceived]; and so also the eighteen dhatus (kai) or *seats* of knowledge [as, for example, from the sense of sight fixing on an object of vision, there is a place of union (upastha) and a seat or point (dhatu) of knowledge, in this case called eye-knowledge]. After all this tedious investigation is over, Ananda starts a new objection, viz., that the sense of things around us results from a union of the four elements [Kiouen iii, § 87].

87. "Ananda addressed Buddha and said: World-honoured one! Tathâgata ever says (or speaks of) the associations resulting from the union and agreement of the four elements, explaining that all things in their changes and various appearances depend on this union or agreement—how, then, is this theory compatible with the disproof of what you term causal connection or spontaneous production?

88. "At this time the world-honoured one, addressing Ananda, spoke thus: As you professed to have rejected the theories of the Little Vehicle, concerning Srâvakas and Pratyêka Buddhas, and to have set your mind on the diligent search after the insurpassable wisdom (anoutara Bôdhi), on this account I have

undertaken on the present occasion for your sake to exhibit the nature of the highest speculation. How is it, then, that you, returning to the fallacious theories of worldly wisdom, entertain false opinions about cause and effect, binding and hampering yourself in the meshes of such speculations, so that, although you have been a constant hearer of my doctrine, yet you are like what they say about the medicine vendor, who, though he has the most useful drugs ever before him, is yet unable to distinguish their qualities. But now, Tathâgata, out of his pure compassion, if you will but carefully discriminate, will for your sake open out and distinguish the true doctrine, and enable you for the future to enter on the practice of the Great Vehicle, and to penetrate, and understand the marks of, precious truth. Ananda silently awaited the declaration of the Divine will.

89. "Ananda! you say that the harmonious union of the four elements may account for the various changes of nature. Ananda![1] if the nature of these elements be radically opposed, then they cannot agree when in union with miscellaneous objects any more than space can agree with matter.

90. If it is maintained that space and matter are capable of harmonious union, then space becomes an attribute of matter. So there arises a necessary connection between opposites, such as life and death—the one produces the other—life and death are, as it were, but connections one with the other, just like a fanciful fire wheel in the air, endlessly formed, or just as water produces ice and ice water.

91. "Observe now the nature of the element 'earth,'—coarse is the element itself, but fine is the minute dust—let this fine dust be triturated again and again, till its nature be apparently destroyed and it becomes impalpable and immaterial.

92. Can this impalpable dust be really compared to space? if so, then you must allow that space can produce matter.

93. "Now, as you ask me whether the various phænomenal changes of nature may not result from the harmonious union of

[1] Or, Ananda! if the Nature of these four elements be in discord with that which is called "Matter"—for you say that it is the concord of the four elements with matter that produces external phænomena—then in this condition the elements and the basis of matter are to one another as space and form, *i. e.*, opposed.

the elements, observe I pray you this fine triturated dust, and let me ask you if by any mechanism or by a union with space, it can result in the production of a material object.[1]

95. "If, at the moment when matter unites with space, then space ceases to exist; and when space unites with matter, then matter ceases to exist; and yet the matter, by reduction and trituration, is (according to the hypothesis) of the very nature of space, how can there be such a thing as union, or how can it be said that space unites with space?

96. "You from the first have not known that in the mysterious nature of Tathâgata, what is called matter and what is called space are so intimately blended that the one partakes of the nature of the other, and cannot be separated, and result in one perfectly pure and unconditioned and homogeneous substance, everywhere diffused throughout the phænomenal universe; and that, according to the individual intelligence of each creature, resulting from former works, this mystery is perceived. But where there is no knowledge these men have invented the theories of causal connection and spontaneous production, these are all the distinctions of a merely curious mind without any real foundation in science.

97. "Ananda! Take again the case of the element 'Fire,' there is no such thing as an 'individual nature' in this element as you may see from observing in all the cities where you go, the families where there has been no food eaten yet, at the time when they wish to light a fire to cook their food they take a burning glass (or mirror) and holding it opposite the sun with a little dry moxa in the rays, they elicit fire.

98. "Ananda! if you desire to call this 'harmonious union,' it is only just as I and the twelve hundred and fifty Bikshus here present compose one assembly, and yet each one of us has a separate body, and each a name and pedigree, as *e. gr.*, Śáriputra of the Brahman caste, Uravilva of the tribe of the Kâsyapas, and Ananda of the tribe of the Gautamas; now all these, though different in name and family, yet in mind and heart are one; and

[1] The comment explains this as follows:—"Is it possible that this triturated dust (assumed to be like space) by union with space can produce that (viz., matter) which may be reduced again to similar dust, *i. e.*, produce itself?"

so in the world you may speak of harmonious union of different things.

99. "Ananda! if this fire Nature must yet derive its origin from harmonious union, then, when you hold the fire glass in your hand to seek fire from the Sun, does this fire come from something in the glass (mirror), or does it result from something in the moxa, or does it come from the Sun? Ananda! if it comes from the Sun, and thus coming ignites the moxa, then how is it the same fire does not ignite bushes and trees through which it passes? If it comes from the mirror, how is it the fire residing in the mirror does not fuse and melt the metal of it? If it comes from the moxa, then why depend on the Mirror and the Sun for eliciting the Fire?

100. "Consider, yet! The mirror is made to be held in the hand; the sun is for illuminating the Heavens; the moxa is produced in the earth. From what region, then, does Fire come? and through how many ages has it come? When as yet there was no Sun, and mirror for the hand, there could then have certainly been no agreement or harmonious union; and yet you cannot say that fire is of no origin and is self-caused.

101. "It is simply because you do not yet understand that, in the midst of Tathâgata's mysterious Being, the Nature of Fire is the same as the true basis of that which is called space, and the Nature of Space is the same as the true basis of Fire—unmoved and unconditioned—everywhere diffused; according to the measure of each one's intelligence, so is this truth comprehended. Ananda! you ought to know (or, it is plain, that), as in the single instance of a man taking a mirror, and using it, in that particular case fire is produced, so, if throughout the universe the same thing were done, the same result would follow throughout the universe; but it is only because of particular individual Karma (works) that at present this effect is confined to particular bounds.[1]

102. "It is the ignorance of the world, which speaks both of causal connection and a self-producing nature, etc.

103. "Ananda! the nature of water is inconstant; it flows into rivers, or it rests in lakes. Now, in the city of Srâ (*i.e.*,

[1] This means that the essence or recondite nature of fire is everywhere diffused, but it is only called forth by particular agencies.

Sravasti), the Rishi Kapila, and the Rishi Chakra, and Padma and Asita also, all of them great sorcerers, when they seek the essence of the Yin principle (*i.e.* water) to use with their mysterious and magical potions—all these great teachers, I say, on the night of the full moon, taking a moon-speculum (fang-chü)[1] in their hands, draw down water from the midst of the moon, how then, considering this fact, do you say that the water is engendered in the speculum, or that it exists of itself in space, or that it comes from the moon? Ananda! if you say it comes from the moon, then surely all the trees and shrubs past which this water comes should be dripping and wet, and if this is the case, then why use the magic speculum; if not, it is plain, at least, that the water comes not from the moon.

104. "If the water comes from the midst of the speculum, then there should ever be flowing water in its substance—why, then, wait till the full moon to draw the water out? But, if you say this water comes from space, then it should have no limits, even as space has none, so that from man's abode, even up to Heaven, there should be moisture and wet; and if so, pray what is the meaning of the expression—'the products of water, dry land, and space.' You should consider, therefore, and conclude the rather, that the moon's brightness irradiates Heaven, the substance of the speculum, is in the hand, and the connection between the speculum and the water is an idea of man's own invention; whence, then, comes the water? It is plain that the speculum and the moon, separated as they are by such a distance, can have no harmonious union; and at the same time we cannot say that this 'water essence' comes from nowhere, or is self-created; what, then, shall we say? Simply this, that you still are ignorant of the mysterious Being of Tathâgata, that in Him the Nature of the element water is the same as the true void of his substantial existence, and the Nature of this void is the same as the true substance of water. He has ever remained pure and unconditioned, free from change, everywhere diffused, made plain to man according to circum-

[1] Chandrakânta (Eitel). I observe that this writer restricts the sense of the Chinese "chu" to a "pearl," but "chu" is constantly used for a mirror. Nor does it appear to be "a pearl from which moonbeams draw forth floods of water" (*Handbook*, p. 143), but "a mirror or pearl which draws forth water from the Moon."

stances, for if in one place by holding a speculum, in that one place water is seen, so in every place through the universe the same result would follow. Only it is confined now to one spot, because of the Karma of men.

105. "All these ideas then arise, etc.

106. "Ananda! the Nature of wind is that it has no material basis, sometimes at rest, sometimes in motion, without stedfastness; for instance, you always arrange your dress on entering the great assembly; suppose, then, the corner of your Sanghati waves past a person as you walk, that person feels in his face a waft of air; now tell me, whence comes this sense of wind, does it proceed from the corner of the Sanghati, or is it excited in space, or is it produced by that man's face? Ananda! if it is produced by the Sanghati, then (the substance of the one being the same as that of the other) you put on and take off the wind, and when the wind flies out into another's face, then your Sanghati ought to fly with it, and so to be separated from your person. Again, I am now delivering the law, and in the midst of the congregation arranging my dress I have seated myself; you see my dress, where does the wind reside in it? You cannot say that there is a secret receptacle for it in the midst of the robe.

"But if you say the wind comes from space, then how is it that it is not excited except your dress moves? The nature of space is constant and fixed, surely then the wind ought ever to be produced; at the time when there is no wind there should be an end of space, but what proof or assurance is there of this? for if space be capable of birth and revival, then the thing is a mere name, and how then can the wind come from it? But if you say that the wind originates itself as it blows on the face of the man, or that it comes from the face itself, then you ought to feel it blowing on your face, and your dress has clearly nothing to do with it. On the whole, you should consider and conclude that the arranging of the dress is your act, the face and so on is another man's, space is quiet and still, not liable to change or motion. From what quarter, then, comes the motion of the wind? In their nature wind and space are incapable of harmony and agreement. Nor can you say that the nature of wind is derived from itself, for this is but an excuse for your ignorauce of the mysterious Nature of Tathâgata, in which both wind and space are substantially one, etc.

107. [As before.]

108. "Ananda! The nature of space[1] is that it is without form. It is (the absence of) matter which makes it visible. For example, in this city of Sravasti, in some place far from the river, all the Tchatriyas and the Brahmans, and the Vaisyas, and the Sudras, the Po-lo-sui (? Pârswakas), the Chandâlas, founding new residencies immediately set about digging out the earth to make wells; having dug out a foot of earth, there is then a foot of emptiness; having dug out a fathom of earth, there is a fathom of emptiness, and so on, according to the quantity of earth taken out. This emptiness then, does it come from the earth taken out, or from the act of excavation, or is it self-originated? Ananda, if you say on the one hand that this emptiness has no cause, but is self-born, then, previous to the act of excavation, what is there to prevent this self-forming energy exercising itself? How is it when you look down and consider you only see the great earth, but you cannot penetrate into the nature of this void? But if you say it is because of the mould or earth coming out that this emptiness is seen, then, seeing the earth coming out of the hole, you ought to see the emptiness going in—what is true of the first must be true of the last; if, then, you really see the earth come out, and you say that this earth causes the emptiness, then surely you ought to see the emptiness enter into the place of the earth! or if you cannot see this, at least you cannot attribute to the earth a causative power. But if you still say so, only qualifying your assertion by excluding the ideas of 'coming out' and 'entering,' then you must suppose that the earth and the emptiness are in some way mixed and confused, so as to be 'one,' so that in their essence and origin they do not differ, and, therefore, are the same; but if so, then, when you see the earth dug out of the hole, why does not the emptiness come out also?

"But if you say that the emptiness results from the act of excavation, it must proceed from the instrument used; and if so, why has not the instrument the power of producing a hole without taking the earth out. But if you say it is not from the instrument, then certainly, as the instrument is the cause of the excavation, tell me why, when the earth is removed by it, you see emptiness in the place of the earth removed by the instrument?

[1] That is, Akasa, the fourth element.

You must confess then, on further examination, that these several factors, viz., your hand, the instrument, the earth, and the empty hole, are each independent and disconnected, and therefore there is no 'harmonious union' of which you spoke.

109. "But if you say that this 'emptiness' is of its nature complete and everywhere diffused in its essence, incapable of motion or agitation, you should know that this, equally with the former four, viz., water, fire, wind, and earth, is one of the elements: they are all equally diffused in Nature, and all, as in the mysterious Being of Tathâgata, incapable of Birth or Death.

110. "Ananda! if your heart is so heavy and dull that you cannot understand the original condition of these four elements as being part of the mysterious Being of Tathâgata, then you should consider space in the cases we have just considered as entering in and going out, and not entering in and going out.

111. "But it is because you do not perfectly understand that in this mysterious Being of Tathâgata the state of wisdom (Bôdhi) is the same as his substantial void, and the state of emptiness the same as his substantial wisdom, ever pure and unconditioned, universally diffused, but manifested in one place by the power of Karma, as one well is manifested in one place, but might be under equal circumstances manifested everywhere, it is because of this ignorance that you mistake.

112. [As before.]

113. "Ananda! As by recognising the fact of Supreme wisdom, ignorance becomes known; so, by the presence of matter, we become acquainted with space.

114. "Take again your own case, as you are at present: suppose yourself dwelling in the Jêtavana; in the morning light there is brightness; in the evening there is darkness; and if you continue to occupy the dwelling through the night, then on the nights of the bright moon it is light, and on the nights of the dark moon it is dark; but this idea of light and dark is only the result of your eye-sight; let me ask, then, whether your power of sight, when considered in connection with the phenomena of lightness and darkness, and the existence of the great aery vault of space, is one substantial existence or not one, whether it is different or not different?

115. "Ananda! if this power of sight, considered in connection with the light and gloom and the vault of space, is originally

one substance, then the qualities by which light and gloom are distinguished are false, viz., the absence of light in the darkness, and the absence of darkness in the light. If the power of sight and the darkness be one substance, then at the time when the eye perceives the light, and so the darkness disappears, then the sight ought to disappear; and so also if we suppose it to be one with light, then in perceiving the dark as the light disappears, so the sight should disappear. But if you say that, although light and darkness be essentially different, yet the nature of sight remains unaffected by birth or death; at any rate, according to this theory, there can be no reality in the theory of union or unity of the three.

116. "But if darkness, light, and sight be separate and independent one of the other, then surely if you remove light and darkness and have nothing left but void space, there can be no reality in the common idea of sight; for there can be no characteristics by which it can be known; and if again you remove the ideas both of light, darkness, and space, then sight is only as the hair of the tortoise or the horn of the hare; if, then, these three things be all different in their substance, on what can you build your idea of sight?

107. "The nature of light and darkness being opposite, why attempt to assimilate them? but if they differ essentially, then, as sight is impossible, why attempt to separate them? If sight and space be separated, then there is no distinct office for sight, why, then, are they not considered as one? If seeing the darkness and seeing the light be not a separate power of sight, what, then, is the meaning of the phrase 'not unlike'?

108. "You should, therefore, still consider and carefully weigh that each of these several powers and media have their distinct provinces, and that there can be no such thing as the 'harmonious union' of which you speak.

109. "This knowledge, derived from perception, is also a part of the universally diffused and mysterious Being of Tathâgata.

110. "You should understand, therefore, that in this mysterious Being of Tathâgata the power of sight is the same as the brightness, and the brightness as the power of sight, etc.

112. "So also, Ananda, your discriminating faculty is of its nature unoriginated; but is called forth by the six kinds of external objects that occupy the attention of the six subjective powers or senses.

113 "Thus, for example, looking round on the eminent personages composing this august assembly, exerting your power of promiscuous sight, you see all these persons as it were in a mirror, but when you begin to exercise discrimination, then you point to each one and observe—this is Manjusri, this Pourna, this Mogalan, this Subhûti, this Sariputra; now this power of discrimination, is it produced by the power of sight or by the external characteristics of the person observed, or is it produced in space, or is it independent of all causes, and produced from the depths of your own consciousness?

114. "Ananda! if you say that this discriminating Nature which you possess is produced by the power of sight, then, in case there is neither light or darkness, matter or space, as it must have been originally, then in such a case knowledge of this kind, by which you would know that there are no such things, would be impossible.

115. "And so also, if you say that this discriminating power is produced by the qualities or attributes of things, then, in the absence of these attributes, the powers must cease to exist.

116. "If the power is born in space, then also it must be independent of the existence of external phænomena, or of sight itself, and here there is no basis left for argument.

117. "And if the external phænomena and sight be extinct, space also is nothing, for space, we say, is the opposite of matter, but if there is no matter how can there be space?

118. "If this knowledge springs from the depths of consciousness, and is without cause, how is it that in the sunshine we cannot distinguish the moonlight?

119. "Consider, therefore, that as it is impossible for you to perfect an act of vision without external phænomena, what is it that enables you to perfect an act of discrimination?

120. "Discriminating knowledge, then, depends on change and variety, but sight (as a power) is quiet and unmoved: there can be no harmonious union, then, in these particulars either. And so also with respect to hearing and listening, intellect and knowledge—it cannot be said that the discriminating knowledge resulting from these powers is self-generated or evolved from one's own consciousness.

121. "This knowledge, then, like the other six powers, is a part of the mysterious Being of Tathâgata.

122. "Ananda! because you have not understood this, the question about one and different, alike or dissimilar has arisen.

123. "For you have not understood that in the mysterious Being of Tathâgata, the nature of this discriminating power is the same as the substantial faculty of knowing, and the faculty of knowing the same as the power of discriminating, but according to circumstances these several powers are exercised, etc.

125. "At this time, Ananda and all the great congregation, gratefully attentive to the words of Buddha Tathâgata, as he opened out these abstruse points of his argument, their bodies and minds both worn out with their exertion, obtained illumination; this great assembly perceived that each one's Heart was coextensive with the universe, seeing clearly the empty character of the universe as plainly as a leaf or trifling thing in the hand, and that all things in the universe are all alike merely the excellently bright and primeval Heart of Bôdhi, and that this heart is universally diffused, and comprehends all things within itself.

126. "And still reflecting, they beheld their generated bodies, as so many grains of dust in the wide expanse of the universal void, now safe, now lost; or as a bubble of the sea, sprung from nothing and born to be destroyed. But their perfect and independent soul, not to be destroyed, but ever the same; identical with the substance of Buddha; incapable of increase or diminution: and thus, standing before Tathâgata, they uttered these verses of commendation in praise of his august presence.

127. "O! the mysterious depth, the all-embracing extent, the undisturbed and unmoved Majesty! Oh! the rarely seen and inestimable Surañgama Râjah!

128. "Oh! would that, arriving at an end of the ignorance and perverse thoughts, which have kept us bound through endless Kalpas, striving through successive asankhêya Kalpas after the Eternal Body (body of the Law).

129. "Oh! would that now we might obtain the fruit and perfect the Royal Treasure (of Nirvâna), and yet be the means of converting endless worlds of Beings, and causing them to experience this same deep heart of gratitude through endless worlds! Thus would we return the boundless love of Buddha, and so humbly seek the illuminating energy of the World-honoured; passing through the various worlds, we would rescue

the countless beings yet immersed in sin, and in the end with them find Rest.

130. "Oh, mighty power! oh, mighty force of (Buddha's) infinite compassion! may its secret and mysterious influences cause us soon to arrive at Supreme Wisdom! and seated on the sacred throne of the universe, possessed of the Sunyata nature, to overcome all that is false, and possessed of the Sukara heart, never to be moved.

"KIOUEN IV.

1. "At this time Purna Maitrayani Poutra, having his place in the great congregation, rose forthwith from his seat, and baring his right shoulder and bending his right knee to the earth, closing his hands in reverence, he addressed Buddha, saying: 'Eminently virtuous! World-honoured! who illustriously declarest the mysterious and supreme Law of Tathâgata for the sake of all sentient creatures!'

2. "World-honoured one! I, who have ever been pre-eminent in the promotion of the declaration of the Law among men, now as I hear the sounds of this superlatively excellent Law of Tathâgata, I am as a deaf man, who, when a hundred paces off, listens to hear the musquitoes humming; he cannot even see them, much less can he hear them; and so, although Buddha plainly declares his Law, for the purpose of enabling me to cast away error; yet I still cannot grasp the limits of this science, so as to free myself from all doubt or suspicion.

3. "World-honoured! I, like Ananda and his class, although possessed of some degree of enlightenment from your former instructions, but not entirely freed from minor deficiencies, am now, equally with others in this congregation, desirous to arrive at perfect wisdom; but although this is so, and I have attained somewhat my purpose, yet, hearing this Law of Tathâgata, I am filled with doubts and self-accusations.

4. "World-honoured! If it be true that in the world the senses[1] and the objects of sense, the five skandhas, the seats of

[1] The senses (kun) are the six âyatanas (chadâyatanâni), according to Burnouf, *Int.*, 635. But a careful comparison of Hardy and Burnouf is desirable. Vide on the above the *Essai* of Burnouf and Lassen on Pali, in which it is clearly shown that the indriyâni are the senses (kun), and âyatanas the "chu."

apprehension and the provinces of knowledge be all one with the mysterious Being of Tathâgata, pure and calm, unchanged and unchangeable, then tell me how it is that all at once were produced the mountains, rivers, great earth, and all phænomenal existence; and how arose this succession of changes and revivals in nature, this dying and ever beginning again?

5. "And, again, I would inquire of Tathâgata with respect to what he says about the earth, water, fire, and wind being in their original condition (Nature) all blended together, and everywhere diffused throughout the great universe—what, then, was the form which water possessed when its nature was so universally diffused; and how could water and fire, which are mutually opposed in their natures, coexist in this universally diffused condition; and so also matter and space, opposite as they are in their characteristics and natures, how could they be joined in one homogeneous substance? There are difficulties I cannot understand in the Doctrine which Buddha now enunciates. Would that Tathâgata, out of his great compassion, would explain and simplify them, both on my account and for the sake of all the great congregation! Having said these words, he prostrated himself on the earth, and respectfully waited for the supreme enunciation of the compassionate mind of Tathâgata.

6. "At this time Tathâgata addressed Purna and all the Rahats, free from defects, exempt from study,[1] in these words: 'To-day Tathâgata, for the general advantage of this whole congregation, declares the true and most excellent Nature of the Doctrine, which resides in the body of his most *excellent Teaching*,[2] in order that you who have arrived at the condition of Sravakas possessed of a fixed nature (Samvritisatyas ?), and all others who have not as yet attained to the conviction of the superior grade of Rahats, by arriving at the conviction that all things around them (men and things) are unreal and empty—that all of you may obtain a fundamental knowledge of the one unmoved and unchanged condition—the condition of the true Arañyaka (hermit)—the only ground of a right preparation of life. Now, therefore, listen and consider; for your sakes I speak, Purna and the rest. Then they all composed themselves to a silent and meditative frame of mind, awaiting the Divine Revelation.'

7. "Buddha said: Purna, according to what you now say,

[1] Jul. ii, 415, n. [2] Paramartha. Vide Jul. iii, 485.

asking how the pure and original state of existence could admit of the sudden appearance of mountains and rivers and the great earth, have you not continually heard Tathâgata enunciate this doctrine—'As to its Nature, the Divine Intelligence (Buddha) is mysteriously effulgent; as to its essence, the Divine Intelligence is effulgently mysterious?'[1] Pourna replied: Yes, verily, World-honoured one! I have continually heard Buddha declare this Doctrine.

8. "Buddha said: With respect to that which you call the brightness or effulgence of the Divine Intelligence, is it an effulgence depending on the very Nature (of the Divinity), and so the name Divine Intelligence is given to it? or is this Divine Intelligence not in its essence effulgent, but by acquiring this quality, does it come afterwards to be called an enlightened or effulgent Divinity?

9. Purna replied: If this which we call the Divine Intelligence is not (naturally) effulgent, then what room is there for its ever becoming so?

10. "Buddha said: If there is no room for the acquirement of this effulgence, then (in the disunion of these two conditions) the Divine Intelligence is essentially unenlightened. If there *is* a ground for acquiring this enlightenment, then it is something different from Intelligence; if there is *no* ground, then there is no enlightenment; but then again this absence of enlightenment is essentially opposed to the true Nature of what we term the Divine Intelligence.[2]

11. "As to its Nature, then, the Divine Intelligence must be effulgent, and it is folly and contradiction to speak of an *enlightened* Divine Intelligence.

12. "The substantial character of the Divine Intelligence admits not of any ground for enlightenment; but because of this property of enlightenment we do assign to it a ground for the acquirement of it; and this ground being assigned, we fall into a false apprehension of the Divinity, and there is produced in us a fictitious poetical power (a power to make, *i. e.*, invent).

[1] The meaning of this verse seems to be that the Divine Intelligence, *i. e.*, the Supreme state of Being, unites in itself effulgency [activity (pravritti)] and mysterious non-action (nirvritti). In other words, like the sun or moon, there is effulgence (activity) and a substantial unity (passive Being).

[2] All this simply means that if the Divine Intelligence is not originally

13. "In the absence of any such ideas as being "alike" or "different"—the idea of a flame as distinct from its splendour suddenly caused the origination of the idea of distinction;[1] and then, by distinguishing these various grounds of difference (the idea still further prevailed), whilst the opposite idea of identity naturally arose from the supposition of difference, and identity and difference having been conceived, then the absence of identity and of difference also followed, and thus arose the endless classifications and confusions which language has conveyed to us, with all the laboured theories and expositions which have resulted in the present accounts we have of the order of the world, and the character of space, this last representing the idea of identity, and the former that of difference; and the further idea of absence of identity and absence of difference supplying the origin of all the phænomenal forms that exist around us.

14. "The idea of effulgence which we thus have attached to the Divine Intelligence naturally originated the idea of darkness as belonging to the void; and these, mutually related in thought, originated the idea of motion, and thence came the fiction of the circle of wind which envelopes and holds the world we live in.

15. "As from the idea of the void sprang the idea of motion, so from the power of light or effulgence sprang the idea of exclusion of darkness or the void; and this being compared to gold, the brightness of the Divine Intelligence in its manifestations was the origin of the fiction of the golden hills that embrace and surround our world.

16. "From these two ideas of wind and the golden circle sprang the idea of attrition, and from this the scintillations of fire, whence also came the idea of apparitional births (Natures).

17. "From (the comparison of the Divine Intelligence to) the brightness of a precious jewel arose the idea of moisture (the *water* of the precious stone), and this associated with the ascend-

and necessarily effulgent (enlightened), then what is there external to it to enlighten it? In other words, if God did not create from the beginning (*i.e.*, from eternity), what was the moving cause (in time) to lead Him to create? [This is a question also that occurs in the "Golden Legend" (Longfellow).]

[1] Or the idea of a "fire" or "lighting a fire" gave origin to the ground of the idea of subject and object.

ing vapour of flame engendered the further association of a circle of water embracing the ten regions of the world.

18. " From the ideas of the Natures of fire and moisture arose the further distinction of the seas and the continents with their rivers and lakes.

18. " From the power of water over fire came the idea of the high mountains of the earth; for the rocks of these mountains when struck produce fire, and when melted liquify like water.

19. " From the idea of the strength of earth over water sprang the thought of the trees and woods that cover the earth.

20. " And so, from accepting the false ideas we have named, sprang continual inventions of others—transmitting from one generation to another the ideas of these numberless varieties of phænomena—and from these the ideas of causal connection and the theories of the causes of existence of the world.

21. " In continuation, Purna! the mistaken idea of effulgence or action, to which we have alluded, is really fatal to those very external phænomena of which it is the origin: and a correct idea on the same subject overthrows the foundation on which these false suppositions rest; for, by not exceeding the just limits of this correct and rational theory respecting the essential effulgence of the Divine Intelligence, we arrive at this opinion respecting the so-called causes and effects; that hearing proceeds not from sound; nor seeing from matter, and so on for the other senses; and then, advancing further still, we say that these several effects are but the result of individual Karma, the variety of which in different individuals produces the various results we observe in the apparitional world.

22. " From a consideration of these results, the combined effect of sight and object of sight[1] arose 'thought' (longing thought). From a difference in sight (or in opinion respecting the thing observed, or the object of sight) arose dislike, whilst from agreement arose love. From the outgoings of love proceeds generation (or generative power); the reception (nah) of sympathetic thought constitutes the basis of conception (the womb); union produces birth; common intention produces the same karma; and so in regular succession is produced the Kalala (embryo), the Arbuda, and so on. Thus came viviparous, oviparous generation, and also generation from moisture and by transformation;

[1] *νοῦς* and *νοῦμενον*, or "sight" and "brightness" in the original.

according to their several adaptations (ying), ovipara from thought or longing alone; vivipara from passion; birth from moisture, by touch; transformational birth, by distance; by one of these methods whatever *is* is produced according to Karma, and hence all the connections and complications of life.

23. "Purna! thought and love being connected thus! and as it were the same, love cannot be separated (from its object); thence are the several worldly relationships—father, mother, son, grandson—born together, and thus bound together generation after generation, and from this arose the origin of selfish desire and covetousness.

24. "Selfish desire still producing love, the one and the other increasing together from the body receiving nourishment, selfish desire not being able to check itself, the various forms of being, according to their strength or weakness, turning against one another, were bent on devouring and feeding one on the other—hence arose murder and bloodshed, men feeding on sheep, the sheep when dead becoming men, and the men when dead becoming sheep, and so throughout the ten kinds of birth, perpetually dying and being born again. And thus perpetually oscillating, every wicked Karma being formed and perfected, they were brought to the utmost verge of wretchedness and poverty throughout endless ages, and thus robbery and violence arose!

25. "And thus arose the endless intricacies of retributive transmigrations and the association of the three fatal evils—murder, robbery, and lust.

26. "Purna! thus it is these three kinds of moral perversion have become intermingled and confused, and all from this opinion of the (intermittent effulgence or action of the) Divine Intelligence. This ground having been supplied, there arose from it the idea that there was a distinct nature or essence of knowledge, from which sprang the various classifications of qualities belonging to phænomena. And thus arose the idea of the successive generation of heaven and earth, and all mundane existences.

27. "Purna said: If this mysterious Divine Intelligence, which in its essence is the same as the effulgence which ever emanates from it, be one with the Heart of Tathâgata, that admits neither of increase or diminution, so that there is no originating cause of creation, with its varieties of product; how is it

that Tathâgata, having now arrived at the mysterious void of the effulgent Divinity, the mountains and rivers and great earth, with all creatures who have not yet accomplished their Karma, are appointed yet to be born again and again?

28. "Buddha said: Purna! let us take the comparison of a man living in a village, and resting in a mistaken idea that the North is South and the South North; with respect to the definite limits of this error, does it arise from some absolute quality of error, or is it a product of the understanding? Purna replied: Certainly the error of this man cannot proceed from any absolute quality of error, nor is it the product of the understanding? What, then? This error having no basis, say, how is it produced? and if the understanding cannot produce error, what is it causes the understanding or right apprehension of things?

"Buddha said: And now, suppose that deceived man, in the midst of his error, were to meet with an enlightened person who, by proper instruction, were to set him right, now say what you think—this man, delivered thus from his error, on returning to his abode, would he again fall into the same error or not?

"Certainly not, World-honoured one!

"Purna! Such is the case with the Tathâgatas of the universe (ten quarters). This condition of error has no groundwork or essence; it is in its nature altogether unreal and empty; there was no such thing originally; but, just as in the case above supposed, the fact of error gave room for correction of the error, so from the perversion of original knowledge came the possibility of ignorance, but, the cause of this ignorance being removed for ever, no such ignorance can again arise.

29. "Or, again, just as if a man with a cataract on his eye were to see a flower in space, the cataract having been removed, the flower would also be destroyed; now suppose there were suddenly a foolish man to come along, and, hearing the case, were to fix his eyes on that quarter of space where the flower had last appeared, and wait anxiously for its reappearance, and you were to see this man, should you say he was wise or stupid? Purna said: Space in its right condition could have no such aëry flower in it; it was the disease of the eye that caused it to appear and also to disappear; the seeing the flower destroyed the very nature of space;[1] and thus caused an inversion of ideas;

[1] Because space is that which is devoid of all forms.

to wait then and expect the reappearance of such a flower argues the mind of a madman; you can hardly ask me then whether I consider such a man wise or stupid.

"Buddha said: According to your own explanation, I answer you; how can you ask such a question as whether there can be any further generation of earth and heaven and all mundane existences after the attainment of the effulgent void of the mysterious Divine Intelligence possessed by all the Buddha Tathâgatas?

30. "Again, as gold, when separated from all impurities and dross, becomes pure, and cannot again be separated so as to become more pure, or as wood when burnt and reduced to ashes cannot again be restored to its former condition, so is the Nirvâna[1] of the knowledge of all the Buddhas Tathâgata.

31. "Purna! you ask again, saying, the earth, water, fire, air, as to their original nature are blended and intermingled, equally pervading all space (the universe); but now water and fire are in their natures distinct and mutually destructive; and so again space and matter are severally opposed, and yet, as you say, they pervade the universe in harmonious connection. Pourna! it is just as if we compare with this the character of space, which in its nature (substance) is opposed to all characteristic qualities, but yet does not oppose their manifestation.

32. "For consider, Purna, that great vault of space, the sun shines and forthwith there is light, the clouds gather and immediately there is darkness, the winds rise and there is commotion, the placid sky appears and there is quiet, the exhalations gather and there is moisture, the earth is triturated and there are clouds of dust, the water descends and there are reflections of things around!

33. "What think you, then? seeing all these phænomena, do they come from the various supposed causes of them, or do they proceed from space? If the former, Purna! then surely at the time when we observe the shining rays of the Sun, since this effulgence is born from the Sun, the whole region of space in which this brightness is visible, is the same as the substance of the Sun itself, how then can we speak of seeing the Sun in distinction from its brightness in the aëry vault?

[1] Or, the *extinction* of the knowledge, etc.

"But if it is produced from space, then why do we not behold the bright rays of the Sun when the clouds collect and darkness reigns? We must conclude, therefore, that this effulgence is neither born from the Sun nor of space, nor yet is it opposed to either, recognising all these phænomena as originally false, without description or definition, but simply as sky-flowers; how can we speak of them as mutually opposed or destructive, regarding the one pure Nature as the only original substance and the effulgence of this nature, as the brightness of the essence (heart) of the mysterious Divine Intelligence, altogether alien from the qualities of fire, water, etc., how can we speak of these qualities being opposed or mutually destructive?

34. "The effulgence of the true mysterious Divine Intelligence is also thus explained; for if you once regard the empty void as conditioned by action (effulgence), then the phænomena which result according to circumstances manifest themselves—earth, fire, water, air—each projects itself on the mind, and from the first idea of action everything is produced.

35. "But to explain further how this general manifestation takes place. Purna! it is like the sun shining on one piece of water: two men at the same time behold the sun reflected on the surface; then one goes east, the other west; but the one sun supplies each with a different reflection as they separate—the one going east, the other west; it is no use saying that the sun itself is but one. Explain how there are two distinct reflections to two distinct persons, except on the ground of the possibility of such opposite phænomena coexisting whilst they are in themselves unreal.

36. "Purna! as space is tolerant of these phænomenal appearances, so also is the mysterious being of Tathâgata, which pervades all the universe, of the several qualities which you have named; but men, adhering to the false and rejecting the true, have invented the theory that the phænomena are realities and the Being of Tathâgata phænomenal also.

37. "Regarding, therefore, this mysterious effulgence, without birth or death, as one with the secret essence of Tathâgata, and this secret essence as only the universally diffused effulgence of the Divine Intelligence, I conclude that this unity alone in the world is boundless in its reality, and being boundless is yet one. Though in small things, yet it is great; though in great things,

yet it is small. Pervading all things, present in every minutest hair, and yet including the infinite worlds in its embrace; enthroned in the minutest particle of dust, and yet turning the great wheel of the Law; opposed to all sensible phænomena; one with Divine Knowledge; manifested as the effulgent Nature of the Divine Intelligence of Tathâgata.

38. "And thus (we say) the original, perfect, and all-pervading heart of Tathâgata is something different from the heart itself; and something different from space, and from earth, and from water, and from air, and from fire,[1] and from the eye, and from the ear, the nose, the tongue, the body, the thought (manas); and something different from form, and sound, and odour, and taste, and touch, and idea (dharma); and something different from sight-knowledge-province, and so on down to thought-knowledge-province (dhatu);[2] and something different from effulgence and ignorance (avidya) and its opposites, and so on down to a difference from old age and death; and the absence of these;[3] and something different from sorrow and accumulation and destruction and the way,[4] and different from wisdom and acquisition, and different from Dâna, and Sila, and Virya, and Kchanti, and Dhyana, and Prajna, and different from "having crossed over" (Pâramitâ), and so down to different from Tathâgata; and something different from Arya-Samyak-Sambôdhi, something different from the Great Nirvâna, something different from reality, and joy, and personality, and purity (the four characteristics of Nirvâna).

39. "It is different, therefore, from all that worldly men teach (the six schools, sadarsana), and all that the followers of Buddha teach.

40. "But the mysterious *manifestation* of the secret Nature of Tathâgata is the same as the heart and the same as the void, etc. [as in the previous section].

41. "It is the same, therefore, as that which worldly men and the followers of Buddha teach.

"In the same way the original mysterious effulgent heart of

[1] That is, the five elements.
[2] That is, the eighteen "dhatus." *Vide supra*, 344, n.
[3] That is, the twelve "nidânas."
[4] That is, the four truths.

the secret Nature of Tathâgata admits neither of identity nor opposition, nor does it exclude identity nor yet opposition.

42. "How then can men, or the followers of Buddha, ever hope by mere language, fathoming as it were the Infinite wisdom of Tathâgata, to enter on the possession of that knowledge of him which I have described.

43. "Just as if you had a lute (ki'n), or a psaltery (shih), or a vînâ (hong hau, vide Jul. ii, 158, n.), or a viol (pi-pa)—although these instruments are capable of rendering exquisite harmonics, yet, if they be not skilfully touched, they will not after all produce any good music; so it is with you and all men: you all possess this inestimable and perfect Heart of Divine Wisdom; it dwells in you fully, but it is Tathâgata alone, by right handling and wise manipulation, who can bring forth the brightness of the sea-shadows,[1] whilst you, by your futile efforts in search after your Heart, do but excite the dust and obscure the object of your search, because you do not earnestly seek after the way of insurpassable wisdom. Being infatuated with your thoughts about the inferior modes of Salvation, you rest content and obtain but inferior wisdom.

44. "Purna said: If it be true that I possess the same perfect, mysteriously effulgent, and pure heart of Tathâgata—neither distinct nor separate, but complete in its fulness—and yet that, by reason of some fatality from the earliest period, I have become overwhelmed in foolish and futile thoughts, and so detained in the wheel of transmigration—and now, although I hear the Holy Doctrine of Tathâgata, do not see my way clearly to the end of it—World-honoured! as you have undertaken to destroy in me all these foolish thoughts, and to lead me to the true and unchangeable condition of soul of which you speak, I dare now to ask you—What was the original cause of the obscuration of the true effulgence of Tathâgata in the case of all creatures, so that they are thus immersed in the depths of ignorance?

45. "Buddha addressed Ananda: Although you have got rid of your first doubts, yet you are not free from the influences

[1] The commentary explains this, quoting from the Mahâbhasya, "Whatever material figure there is in Jambudwîpa, the Great Ocean conceals a shadowy type of it."

they have produced. I will therefore still use arguments derived from what we see around us in the world, and again ask you: You cannot but have heard of the case of that madman Yadjñadatta, in Srâvasti, who suddenly one morning, in the shining round of a (Temple) mirror, which was on a level with the middle of his face, saw just his eyes and eyebrows reflected in it; horrified at what he saw of his own head, because he could not see all his face, thinking that there was a demon or some evil spirit at work in the matter, he fled away in affright. What think you? had this fellow any reason for running away so? Purna said: He was mad; his mind was deranged; there was no other cause.

46. "Buddha said: This effulgent fulness of the mysterious Divinity, being the same as your own originally perfect and intelligent Nature, (how can it be affected with anything like folly or ignorance?) But having framed the word and spoken of ignorance[1] as something, let me ask, what cause can you assign it; if there is any ground for a cause to it, then it is no longer "ignorance" (for ignorance is that which has no ground or basis); it is an idea that has sprung up entirely from incoherent thought, these thoughts intertwined and intermingled, increasing deception from age to age have resulted in these successive æras of false speculation.

47. "And so, although the brightness of the Divine Wisdom remains the same, still it is impossible as it were to find one's way back to it; and so, because of the first deception, follows a certain self-constitution of the quality of error. As soon, however, as one finds out that this error has really no cause, then the false state of mind can have no foundation and is no longer produced, and therefore the wish to destroy it is also got rid of. So the man who has obtained Bôdhi is like one awakening from a dream, who, when he tells what he saw in his dream, would never think of trying to trace a connection or ground of being for the things he saw; for if a dream is nothing, much less can its parts be real.

48. "Just so with that Yadjñadatta of Sravasti. How is it possible there can be any originating cause for his fear that he had

[1] The word "ignorance" here used is equivalent to "perversion" of "mental delusion."

lost his head and his running away? For suppose him suddenly restored to his right mind; certainly he does not get his head from without him, even supposing he *had* lost it when he was mad. Purna! even so with the perverted Nature of man; it has no cause.

49. "So if you only avoid the practice of distinctions, such as "subject," "object," "ignorance," then, there being no exciting cause, the three so-called causes will disappear, and you will be brought to the condition of Yadjñadatta, when restored to his senses; and this is the condition of wisdom, the excellently pure and enlightened heart, the universally diffused nature, not born of men, and not to be attained by any laborious exertion or painful preparation.

50. "And so it is just as if there was a man who had, tied up in his robe, a magic gem (ju-i, a gem that procures all that is desired) without understanding its use (or without knowing it himself), and who wandered in the greatest want through strange lands, begging afoot something to eat, although reduced to the greatest distress, yet he had not yet lost the gem. Suddenly some one who has the knowledge of its use explains it to him, that this jewel has the power of obtaining for him whatever he desires, even to the greatest wealth. Then he understands that this Divine Jewel is different from anything he can obtain from without (or is not to be obtained from anything without).

51. "At this time Ananda, sitting in the great assembly, rose and prostrated himself at the feet of Buddha, then rose up, and standing before him addressed him thus: The world-honoured one just now said with respect to the three evil works of murder, theft, adultery, that by separating or getting rid of the three influences (ün) that predispose to these evils, then there could be no cause of their birth; and that by destroying the vagaries of thought, that true Bôdhi would be acquired, and that this state of Bôdhi or Wisdom was not acquired in the way men acquire learning or other possessions, but that it was an illumination of the mind consequent on the removal of evil; but how then, if this be so, how can Tathâgata argue against the principle of 'connected causation,' as he did just now when I suggested that my mind obtained instruction and light from stage to stage? How is it that this theory should not hold good alone in our cases who are young and as yet imperfectly instructed, when there can be no doubt that

in the case of the great Mogalan, Sariputra, Subhûti, and others, who were all old Brahmans, that these, by hearing Buddha discourse on the subject of cause and effect, obtained enlightenment and perfection. But now Buddha says that this state of enlightenment does not result by way of cause and effect. It seems to me that the only alternative is to agree with Gosala and the other heretics of Radjagriha, who teach that the true explanation of all things is to be found in self-causation.

"Oh! would that in your great pity to me you would open out and explain this difficulty.

52. "Buddha addressed Ananda: Your difficulty is just the same as that concerning Yadjñadatta of Srâvasti, does his mad nature or illusion come from any connection of causes, and when he gets rid of it and becomes sensible, is this caused by itself? Your questions about causal connection and self-causation just resolve themselves into this.

53. "Ananda! With regard to Yadñadatta; his head, which he thought he had lost, was, as being his own (pen), dependent only on himself [or self-existing or self-resulting (tsz'-in)]; but that which is himself must be the cause of his own thoughts about himself. If you remove this cause, there is no self; how, then, can you supply a sound base of argument in the way of cause and effect to account for this sudden fear of his that he had lost his head, and so running away?

54. "If you say that the head, which was his own and self-caused, on account of some sequence of causes became deranged, you might as well say that the head, which was his own and self-caused, owing to some sequence of causes became lost (as he supposed it to be). But really there was no loss, and his mad idea was groundless, as there was then no change in his condition, how can you trace any connecting idea of cause and effect for that which had no reality?

55. "But if you say that the madness of Yadjñadatta was his own and self-caused, then the fear which resulted from his madness with respect to the loss of his head, must have been co-terminous with his madness; if so, what proof or tentative example can you give of his madness? But if you say that the natural madness was not accompanied by fear, why, then, did he run away?

56. "If he understood that he had a head on his shoulders, and yet ran away like a madman, all the time knowing better,

then the argument about cause and effect and self-causation becomes futile and vain. What I say, then, is this: remove the three influences and the heart is enlightened; but to say that this heart of enlightenment is born or produced, is to say that when there is no production then the heart perishes (or is not existent), and this is only to insist that birth and death are the only realities; but by removing altogether these ideas of death and production we arrive at a passionless exercise of reason. But if the idea of self-causation be accepted, then there is the necessity of supposing accession of enlightenment consequent on some power of self to cause itself, and this requires the idea of the production of a self-causing mind; and, therefore, again, when this production ceases, the mind ceases to be, and so there is no reality again but birth and death. Altogether we conclude that this term self-produced is a mere empty word. Just so in the world, when the various confused phænomena are in harmony, we say that there is a substance or substantial unit produced, and we call this an 'harmonious Nature'; but, in the absence of this harmony, we speak of primeval chaos and its Nature. Remove, however, both these ideas, of harmony and confusion, and we arrive at the true and unconfused sense of Real Existence.

57. "I further anticipate your question with respect to Nirvâna following on the acquisition of Bôdhi, the opinion that it is yet something far removed and distant I hold to be a confused and contradictory opinion.

58. "And so you, although you talk so much about causal connection and self-causation, do in reality by so doing deprive yourself of final rest, and hence you are spoken of as the chief of the Srâvakas; and so, notwithstanding your merit acquired through many Kalpas, as a Srâvaka, you were just now unable to overcome the wiles of the Matañga women, and required the power of the charms which came from the head of the Buddhas to give you deliverance from their power.

59. "And so Ananda, although you have through countless ages heard the precious discourses of Buddha, yet this is not equal to one day's preparation of the perfect way, arrived at by removing to a distance all preferences and hates common in the world, thus Matañgî,[1] though at one time engaged in the basest occupa-

[1] Or the Matangi woman, *vide* Burn., *Introd.*, 206. The history of

tions of lust, by the power of the Divine charms which I used, came out of all those evil ways and became my disciple, and is now called the Bikshuni Sing;[1] and so Yasodara, the mother of Rahula (or Rahula and his mother Yasodara), understanding the sorrows of worldly affections (love and covetous desires), setting themselves to arrive at a complete state of virtue, obtained deliverance; and, according to my express prediction, shall arrive at perfection. How is it, then, that you are content to remain as you are a 'listener' (sekha) still?

60. "Ananda and all the great congregation, hearing this exhortation of Buddha, gradually losing their doubts and understanding the Nature of the true mark (of Being), their mind and body fast gaining rest, arriving at the condition of perfect acquaintance with truth, the tears still coursing down their cheeks, performed several complete prostrations at the feet of Buddha. Ananda then addressed Buddha and said: Infinite is your compassion; pure and Holy, glorious King! illustriously do you instruct my heart! powerful by such influences as those you have used now, to give deliverance, to draw men out of the depths of sin and rescue them from the sea of Pain.

61. "World-honoured! although I now hear and accept the sounds of the Law thus explained to me, and acknowledge (or recognise) the universal diffusion and all-embracing existence of the mysterious enlightened heart of the secret Being of Tathâgata, the mysterious Intelligence that rules over the countless worlds; yet, whilst Tathâgata upbraids me as being in such a meritless (or unworthy) condition of a mere Srâvaka (Sekha, *i.e.* Srotapanna), without any prospect of complete emancipation, I, on my part, feel like some poor wandering traveller, to whom suddenly the Heavenly King presents a gorgeous flowery abode, although he gratefully receives the spacious mansion, yet he waits anxiously till he causes the door to open, so I now long that Tathâgata, still extending his pity on me, would show me and the other poor disciples in this assembly, how, by giving up the methods of Salvation adopted by the Little Vehicle, we may find

this Matangî woman has been quoted by different authors as bearing some resemblance to that of the Samaritan woman in the Gospel of St. John.

[1] Prakriti, *vide* Burn., *Introd.*, 205.

the way to the perfect and complete Nirvâna of Tathâgata himself, causing us, who are as yet but partially advanced, to know how to overcome the former errors of our unenlightened heart, and by obtaining the Dharani which Budha possesses to enter on the condition of the boundless wisdom of Tathâgata.

"Having said this, he again humbly prostrated himself, and, standing with fixed heart in the assembly, awaited the Divine Revelation.

62. "At this time the world-honoured one, in compassion to the Pratyêka Buddhas and the Srâvakas, who had not yet completed the self-reliant heart of Bôdhi, and for the sake of those who should live hereafter posterior to the death of Buddha, in the time of the cessation of the Law,[1] exciting his Heart to open out the Law of the Highest Vehicle and the excellent road of preparation, thus addressed Ananda and the great congregation: Ye who are firmly fixed, to promote in yourselves the Heart of Bôdhi, by means of the excellent Samâdhi of Buddha Tathâgata, which admits of no change or diminution, must first of all set your minds to understand two previous investigations with respect to the unenlightened heart (cho sin).

63. "Say, then, what are these investigations or principles? Ananda! the first is this, if you desire to leave the imperfect condition of a Sravaka, and prepare yourself for the condition (vehicle) of Bôdhisativa, and enter on the position of Buddha's wisdom, you must investigate this question—is that which is called the cause of this acquisition different from the acquisition itself?

64. "Ananda! it cannot be allowed that the ground cause through which we seek the imperishable and unconditioned state of Buddha, can be the perishable and conditioned heart which we call ours.

65. "In this investigation, therefore, you must clearly understand that all mundane forms (fah; dharma) which enter into the composition of the phænomenal world are transitory and perishable. Ananda! of all these forms which you see, of the fictile nature alluded to, what one is there not destructible? They are all destined to be burned up; but after their destruction there is one thing that can never perish, and that is the

[1] The period when there would be no Law, *vide Lotus*, 365.

void of space. What is it, then? This void is opposed to all fictile forms; and from everlasting has been unchanged and is imperishable.

66. "All, therefore, belonging to yourself connected with these elemental forms—such as your bones and flesh, which have the nature of earth, and your moistures, which partake of the nature of water, and your passions, and your breath—must carefully be divided and distinguished from the pure unchangeable Heart, which, as we have before proved, is universally diffused. Also, from the power that the eye possesses, *i. e.*, the seeing-power, and the power of the ear, *i. e.*, the hearing-power, and so on; all which mixed with the five skhanda (yin) have resulted in the five intermixed confusions. Now what are these five confusions? To use a comparison, they are the same as pure water in which earth or mud has been placed; that which was clear and pure, by the admixture of earth, becomes muddy and confused: so it is also in your case.

67. "For example, Ananda! You look into space—your sight and space are intermixed; space, although it is visible, has no substantial existence; your sight, although it is an active power, yet has no real intelligence of space: there is thus a confusion, and a false result is the consequence. This is the first confusion.[1]

68. "So, again, your body coming in contact with any substance, there results an act of sensation (vedana); the object being removed, the sensation is checked; this mutual action and reaction causes the second confusion.

69. "Again, in the mind there is recollection of a past circumstance, acquaintance with a present one, anticipation of a future one; these several relationships excite the knowledge known as "sanjnya" [*i. e.*, knowledge arising from indications or signs (siang)]; the objects being removed, there is nothing left to perceive; the mind or intelligence being removed, there is no power of perception: here, again, is a confusion.

70. "Again, as morning and evening continually succeed and reproduce one another, so you obtain the idea of desires bound up in the present world, but in their consequences ever changing through countless worlds: the knowledge thus produced is another confusion.

[1] Called in the text the Kih (robber) confusion.

71. "Again, your original power of seeing, hearing, etc., being one, but the countless descriptions of knowledge different, from this intermixture arises the confusion called Life confusion.

72. "Ananda! if you desire to arrive at the condition of Buddha, these confusions and impurities must first be removed.[1]

73. "By thus removing the imperfections, and returning to original purity, we lay a right foundation for arriving at Nirvâna.

74. "Just as the impurities of water will subside when the vessel in which it is contained is kept in perfect rest; so, in the case of the human agent, by rest we arrive at this first condition of escape from the discomposing influences of the mind, and by further removing all self-complacency at arriving at this condition, we effect the the enjoyment of Nirvâna.

75. "The second investigation is this—to examine into the cause of these discomposing influences, to which we trace the prolific source of continual production. If the place or site of the inversion of right reason, by the influence of the false objects of sense and organs of sense, be not known, how can we speak of overcoming their influences and laying a foundation for arriving at the condition of Supreme Wisdom?

76. "If a man does not know what it is binds him, how can he loose himself? You never heard of such a thing as binding space and letting it go. What then? it is the so-called senses and objects of sense, that, like robbers, have come and stolen the precious possessions of your house and have forged the chains by which you are bound.

84. "Ananda! if you wish to swim back against the stream of successive life and death, and to arrive at the very head of it, when there was neither life nor death, you should thoroughly investigate these six capacities of sense—what is it that is perceived by contact? and what is it that is meant by disconnection? what is it we speak of as depth, and what as shallow? what is it that is perfect and full, and what that is not so? If you can only go back to the very first and arrive at a conviction that there was a period when there were no such false conditions of knowledge as these terms imply, then you will recognise the cause of the confusions of which I spoke, and the consequent errors that have arisen.

[1] These sections are not very intelligible.

85. "I now exhort you to enter in by this one way, to the thorough knowledge of Perfect Wisdom, and the perfect composure of the six senses.

86. "Ananda said: What does the World-honoured one mean by stemming the tide of life and death, and so entering in by the one door to the deep knowledge and the composure of the six senses? Buddha replied: 'What, Ananda! have you arrived at the condition of Srotâpânna, and do you not yet know that the origin of error was in the wish to divide that which is of itself perfect and indivisible, by admitting a ground of acquiring something not possessed? How much more, now that this error has developed into various parts, may we not, by getting rid of the parts, go back to the original source of Number.[1]

87. "Now, Ananda! regarding these six senses of yours—Are they a unity, or are they distinctly six? If a unity, then your ear ought to see and your eye to hear, etc. But if you are certain that they are six, then let me ask which of them it is receives the words of the Excellent Law which I now deliver? Ananda said: By using my ears I hear. Buddha replied: If your ears have a separate and distinct power of hearing, what need interpose the media of my mouth or your body; for example, why is your hearing dependent on the circumstance of your mouth asking for explanations, and my mouth answering your questions, and the general willingness of your body to allow your hearing to receive my words? This dependence shows that there is no unity in the hearing itself, nor yet is there unity in the combination of the six senses. This belief is in direct contradiction of the usual and prevalent error.

88. "Just as you speak of space, when it is embraced by various vessels, as different and multiform; but when the vessels are removed, you say it is single and uniform;—but then, what is this uniformity, in respect of you who speak of it as a unity—it is not the same as you who speak of it as a unity; it is not the same as you who speak of it as one or many: so also with respect to the six senses; they are opposed to any so-called unity of existence, equally with any supposed distinction of existence

[1] The Commentary explains this as referring to the forty-two conditions (p'hin) of Bôdhi. These conditions are generally spoken of as thirty-seven. *Vide Lotus*, p. 430.

(*i. e.*, there is a unity beyond them, either considered separately or in combination).

89. "And so, from the two conditions of light and darkness existing in the midst of the ever-excellent Perfection of the Divine Intelligence, proceeded the invention and formation of all visual phænomena.

90. "From motion and stillness, the invention of all audible phænomena.

91. "From freedom of entrance and obstacles in the way of entrance, all the phænomena of smell.

92. "And from the uniformity or difference of flavour, all phænomena of taste.

93. "And from the ideas of union and separation, all phænomena of touch.

94. "And from birth and death, all phænomena of cognition.

95. "Ananda! thus, from the idea of the effulgence of the Divine Intelligence, comes the loss of the primitive and essential power and a false elucidation of the subject is adopted; but now, get rid of all these false conditions, and you obtain a true basis of thought and rest.

98 and 99. "Ananda said: How, then, if there is no such thing as this heart, can I use it to get rid of these false conditions?

100. "Buddha replied: I will tell you.

101. "Then Buddha struck the Rahula gong (or the Rahu gong), and asked Ananda, Do you hear anything? Ananda said, Yes. When the gong had stopped sounding, Buddha said again, And now do you hear anything? Ananda said, No! and then Buddha struck the gong again, and asked the same question, to which Ananda replied as before. Then Buddha said, What is the meaning of this expression, 'hearing' and 'not hearing'; to which Ananda replied, When there is a sound we hear it, and when no sound we do not hear it.

102. "Then again Buddha struck the gong and said, Is there a sound? Yes, said Ananda. As it grew less and died away, Buddha said, And now is there a sound? Ananda said, No (and so again). And then Buddha said, What is this expression 'sound' and 'no sound?' To which Ananda replied as before. To which Buddha said, What confusion and deception! You say you hear not; if so, then hearing is destroyed, just as decayed wood is destroyed. Then, when the gong is hit again,

How can you hear it? for your hearing is destroyed! Who is it, I ask, that hears? No, Ananda, it is no power resident in the hearing or in yourself that hears; it is to be sought elsewhere.

104. "And you add still further to the confusion by saying that when there is a sound you hear, and when there is no sound you do not hear; but this dying and reviving of the sense—how strange is the deception!—for how is it possible to detach the idea of continuance from a faculty of this sort. Even a man asleep—who confuses the sound of pounding rice with the beat of a drum, and who, on waking, tells his guest of it—even he, by thus recollecting the circumstance of his mistake, proves that the sense of hearing is not liable to such intermittent action.

105. "But so it is, from the beginning men have not distinguished between that which is constant and abiding and that which is perishable and transient; and so the confusion has arisen and continued.

106. "But if you will but dismiss all idea of production and destruction, and keep carefully to the true and permanent reality of Being—the permanent existing in every place, but the ideas of sense depending on knowledge—then you will understand that all results of intellectual discrimination are vain; the only reality is that which the eyes of Religion (dharma) perceive: this is the true and unsurpassable Divine Intelligence.

Kiouen V, § 1.

"Ananda said: Notwithstanding all the World-honoured one has said, I am still at a loss to know what is the bondage under which you say we all live, and what is the deliverance of which you speak.

2. "Then Buddha, touching the head of Ananda, forthwith the ten earths shook six times, and from each Buddha throughout the countless universe proceeded bright celestial rays, which all came and alighted on the head of Buddha in the garden of Jêta; and at the same time Ananda and all the congregation heard these words proceeding from the different mouths of all the Buddhas:

"Well spoken, Ananda! you are now desirous to know the character of that ignorance which is the origin of the perpetual succession of birth and death; and, satisfied that your six senses have no power to free you from the bondage, you desire to find out the nature of the unsurpassable knowledge which alone can give you the freedom and rest which these six senses never can.

3. "Still Ananda was unsatisfied, and asked for explanation.

4. "Buddha said: Ananda! the sense and the objects of sense are one at root—bondage and freedom are not two. The nature of knowledge (or knowledge and nature) is empty and vain, just as a sky-flower.

5. "Ananda! from the objects of sense arises knowledge (of the possession of sense); from the senses themselves come qualities of objects: both qualities and sight (knowledge) are as the empty bubble.

6. "Wherefore we conclude that your method of establishing your knowledge by the exercise of the cognitions of sense, is false, and the same as the original ignorance; whereas the conviction that these cognitions bring you no real knowledge—this is Nirvâna—pure truth without alloy.

7. "At this time the World-honoured one, wishing to give weight to the delivery of this system of truth, spoke the following gâthas:—

8. "The Pure Nature, as to its substantial Being, is empty; the influences, therefore, that produce birth are as a magical delusion. The absence of action, and the absence of beginning and end—these also are false ideas, like a sky-flower. The word 'false' does but originate (manifest) that which is true—false and true are together equally false; and yet, again, the assertion that this or that is opposed to truth is itself opposed to truth. What, then, means this phrase of seeing and that which is seen; for in the so-called world what true nature or power is there? Are not all things around us but as a bubble?'

9. "The ground-cause of bondage and deliverance is the same; sages and philosophers walk not on different paths. Consider, then, and embrace the nature of this middle method: emptiness and reality are both alike false; deception and enlightenment are both alike founded on ignorance. Once dream of enlighten-

ment (*i. e.*, of making that which was ignorant wise), and you may forthwith bid adieu to all idea of release.[1]

10. "Get rid of the idea of successive causes of thraldom; forget also the idea of unity found by extirpating the six senses; select only as a basis of all the perfect and all-pervading essence, and then, entering the stream, you shall perfect in yourself the Divine Intelligence.

11. "But concerning the knowledge of remote causes, or the knowledge of past conditions of birth,[2] whether true or whether not true, for fear of deception, of these things I never speak.

12. "The self-existing mind taking hold of (or 'cleaving to,' upadana)[3] its own mind, then that which is itself contrary to delusion, of itself creates illusive phænomena; but not taking hold of (it), there is an absence of (the idea of) that which is contrary to illusion; and if this idea be never produced, then what foundation can there be for illusive phænomena?

13. "This is, indeed, the 'mysterious Lotus,' the precious wisdom of Vajra Raja, the magic Samadhi, leaping over all ignorance in the snapping of a finger. This is the true Abidharma—the Bhagavan of the ten worlds—the one gate of Nirvana."

14. "On this, Ananda and all the great congregation, hearing the profoundly merciful exposition of Buddha Tathâgata contained in the lines of these gâthas, so clear in their meaning, so lucid in their words, receiving enlightenment from their delivery, rejoiced with great joy.

15. "Then Ananda, with closed hands, etc., addressed Buddha thus: Although I have heard this profoundly merciful exposition of Truth, yet is my heart not altogether able to reach the meaning of the doctrine of the six loosenings, excluding the idea of one reality. Would that the World-honoured one would, for our sake, explain the meaning of this Doctrine!

16. "At this time, Tathâgata, sitting on his Lion throne, arranged his Nivâsana Robe, and gathered up his Sañghati, and

[1] I take kai' to signify "to exclude"; if it were in the first tone, then the sense would be directly opposite, thus:—"get enlightenment, and forthwith you get deliverance."

[2] Is this the Jatisara knowledge? *Buddhagosha's Parables*, p. 106.

[3] Vide Colebrooke, p. 255.

taking hold of the Table near him, made of seven precious substances, stretching forth his hand upon it, he took hold of the embroidered silken handkerchief which the Deva Ki-pi-lo (Kapila?) had given him.

17. "And then, in the sight of the great congregation, he tied in it a knot, and, showing it to Ananda, said, What call you this? Ananda and all replied, This is called a knot. On this Buddha repeated the act, and tied a second knot above the first, and said, What call you this? They replied again, This also is a knot; and on this he repeated the act, and, one after another, tied six knots, showing each to the assembly and asking the same question, receiving in each case a similar reply.

18. "Buddha addressed Ananda: When I first tied the handkerchief, you said it was made into a knot; yet the handkerchief itself is one piece of silk. How, then, can you speak of a second and a third knot?

"Ananda replied: World-honoured! this precious embroidered handkerchief, originally woven from silken threads into its present form, although in itself essentially one substance, yet, as I imagine, when tied up into a knot, may be spoken of as knotted, even if there were a hundred; how much more in the present case, when there are but six. On what ground, then, does Buddha demur to the name given to each successive act on his part?

"Buddha addressed Ananda: You know, with respect to this valuable silk, that in its original character it is one; but when I tied the six successive knots, you replied on each case that the silk was knotted. You should clearly understand the limits of this inquiry then, that substantially this silk is one, but circumstantially, on account of the knots, it is different. Now tell me what you think; each knot I tied, down to the sixth, you replied was a different knot. I now propose to take this sixth knot, as you call it, and now, completing it, I ask do I affect the first knot? Ananda replied: No, World-honoured one! as long as you preserve the six knots you have tied, this last cannot in any way be called the first, or affect it in its form. Buddha said: Thus, then, the six knots are not the same; and searching out the cause of their difference, it results from the one article called a handkerchief, of which they are made; and if you confuse the order or the reality of each of the six, you can obtain no exact idea of the whole: so it is with your six organs of sense.

19. "Buddha addressed Ananda: You must still bear with the illustration derived from this subject of the knots; suppose now, for instance, you did not wish to have any knots at all, but delighted in the idea of unity, how would you proceed? Ananda said: If you keep these knots tied, then there must of necessity arise the point, this knot is this, and not that; so that the question of this and that is produced. If, then, you want to get rid of this question, all you have to do is to tie no knots, and then, indeed, you will not even have to consider the question of unity, for if there is no succession of knots, there can be no first knot. Buddha said, So it is, I say, the doctrine of the six loosenings excludes the idea of unity.

20. "From the first, your mind and your nature, being in disorder and confusion, there has existed a false excitement of a knowledge derived *e. gr.*, from sight, and this knowledge, wildly excited, has produced endless deceptions; at last, worn out and fatigued with excessive action, the sight has caused the origination of objects of sense, as the eye fatigued sees in space fanciful figures and sky-flowers. But really, in the depth of the true power of sight, there lies no ground or cause for this confusion; and so from this excess of action have sprung up, as qualities and characteristics of this false appearance, the ideas of worldly phænomena—mountains and rivers and the great earth, life and death and Nirvana—all are alike but perishing qualities of a conditioned existence.

21. "Ananda said: This excessive action I take to correspond to these knots: tell me, then, how to get rid of it. Then Tathâgata, with his hand, taking the knotted handkerchief, smoothed out the left part of it, and said, Is it now untied, Ananda? To which he replied, No. Then the World-honoured one, shaking out the other part, with his hand smoothed it to the right, and said, Is it now untied, Ananda? To which he replied, No. The World-honoured one then added, I have smoothed the silken napkin out, on the right and left, and yet you say it is not untied: tell me, then, how is it to be unloosed? To which Ananda said, World-honoured! you must take the knot at the heart of it, and then separate the parts, and you will untie it. Buddha replied: Good, good, Ananda! if you wish to untie the knots, you must begin at the Heart."

PART IV.

MYSTIC PERIOD.

Regarding mysticism as the natural counterbalance of scholastic refinements, we should expect to find a Mystical Period in the history of Buddhism. And we find it so. But as in the history of Christian dogma there is no distinct line of demarcation between the Scholastic age and its co-ordinate Mysticism, neither is there any such line to be drawn in the history of Buddhism. There is absolutely no record respecting the development of the Mahâyana system (which may generally be considered as belonging to the dialectical or Scholastic period) from the time of Nagardjuna to that of Asañgha, that is, during a period of ten successions of Patriarchs, or perhaps about two hundred years. Nearly all the works published during this period are attributed to Nagardjuna as the actual author of them. In fact, his name was used to give to the several works the celebrity which that name imported.

But during this period, and side by side with it, a movement was taking place in the direction of Mysticism. The mind, weary of scholastic subtleties, returned with increased desire to meditate upon itself, to unriddle the secrets of the inner life, and to lose itself in the consciousness of its own existence. So it is, mysticism is "founded on subjective experience, and resorts to the depths of religious contemplation for its nourishment."[1]

One of the principal seats of Buddhist learning in India

[1] Hag., ii, 2. Wassilief defines Buddhist Mysticism thus: "Sous le nom de mysticisme nous comprenons dans le Bouddisme ce qui n'est pas autre chose qu'une physique spirituelle ou religieuse. C'est l'instruction du procés dans lequel se personnifient les intuitions théoriques, l'application pratique et l'observance des principes qui sont posés dans la resolution philosophique des problêmes donnés." P. 136.

was at Nâlanda, the modern Baragaon, in Magadha, near Gaya. Between the time of Nagardjuna and Asañgha this monastery had been destroyed by the opponents of Buddhism on three different occasions. Yet the establishment had revived after each overthrow, and again established itself as a great centre of learning.

It was here that Aryadeva, a native of Ceylon, attached himself to the person of Nagardjuna, and adopted his form of Doctrine. We know something about Aryadeva from the anecdote recorded of him, and related in a former part of this work.[1] It would appear from this, that he had a great contempt for external forms of worship. "A spirit," he said, "is spiritual." We are not surprised to find, therefore, that his teaching was of a mystical character. But it was his successor, Râhulabhadra, who first began systematically to unite mysticism with scholasticism.[2] "It is said of him that the Buddha called Amitâbha appeared to him when on his death-bed, and on this, turning his face towards the happy land of Sukhavatî, he died."[3] If this record may be relied on, we have here one of the earliest notices of this peculiar doctrine, generally known as that of the "Western Paradise," to be found in Buddhist history.

It is from this cultus we intend to illustrate the period under consideration.

It would be perhaps impossible from any existing work to ascertain accurately the origin of the name and attributes of the Buddha called Amitâbha. His name signifies "boundless light," and his attributes are infinite love and compassion for men.

It would seem, however, that the idea of such a Being

[1] *Supra*, p. 140, n. 2.

[2] "Mysticism can enter into union with scholasticism by creating a desire for preserving the spring of Religion in the depth and ardour of the human heart, as the true seat of Religion, in order to supply that which could not be furnished by purely dialectical thinking." Baur, quoted by Hagenbach, *Hist. of Doct.*, i, 438 (1).

[3] Wassilief, § 203.

was suggested during the process of the development of the Buddhist Universe, which was taking place about the time of Nagardjuna.

At any rate, the Buddhâvatamsaka Sûtra, which is generally attributed to him, contains an account of this expanded universe, and is appealed to as the most trustworthy authority on the subject.[1] It will be remembered that the earliest idea of the Universe, which seems to have prevailed (if we may judge from the architecture of the Stûpas), down to about the period of Kanishka, was, that it consisted of a central mountain, Meru, around which were the seas and continents and girdles of rocks, and above, the abode of Indra and the thirty-three gods (symbolising, as it seems, the year, the four quarters, and the twenty-eight days of the month).

But just at this time a remarkable expansion occurred; and the names of worlds and systems of worlds were quickly invented, and these supposed localities placed above the abode of Indra, to figure out the superior excellence of abstract Mind over the anthropomorphic system then in vogue. In the second heaven of the second Dhyâna of this system occurs a heaven called Apramânabha, that is the heaven of "boundless light", or "light without measure" (pramâna).

It would appear, therefore, that when this Heaven occupied the highest place in the process of expansion, that the theory respecting the existence of a Dhyâna Buddha corresponding to Sâkya, came into general acceptance, and the name which was already attached to the Dhyâna heaven was referred to him as the ruler of it.[2]

This theory is borne out by the position which the "western paradise", the Sukhavatî or happy land of this Buddha, actually holds in the mystic expansion of the universe, which occurred at a still later period. In this expansion,

[1] *Vide supra*, p. 84, n.

[2] The next heaven is called Abhâsvara, which the Ch. Ed. of the Fa-kai-on-lih-to renders "luminous voice," as stated in the note on p. 84 *supra*. Compare with this the fable of Kwan-yin.

instead of a super-position of heavens, there is a succession of chiliocosms, or rather of systems of chiliocosms placed one over the other; there are twenty tiers of such systems springing from the particular Lotus with which we are concerned, but the position of Amitâbha's Paradise retains precisely the same relative position as the Apramânabha heaven in the original plan of the universe; it is found in the thirteenth tier, the one in which our own universe is placed, only at an infinite distance to the west.

So again, when the idea of a universally diffused essence (dharmakaya) was accepted as a dogmatic necessity, a further question arose as to the relation which this "supreme existence" bore to time, space, and number. And from this consideration appears to have proceeded the further invention of the several names Vairochana (the Omnipresent), Amitâbha (for Amirta) the Eternal, and Adi-Buddha (yihsin) the "one form of existence."

The connection between the Supreme, under the forms of "boundless light", and the "Eternal" is not a difficult one to conceive.[1] These two attributes therefore become finally united, and the Dhyâna Buddha, known as Amitâbha, became also the emblem of Eternity.

Hence the confusion in the real meaning of this title —in the first instance it denoted the analogue of Sakya, as he was supposed to exist in the heavens of boundless light; finally it became the expression of his eternal existence.

It is under these two aspects he is reverenced in China, but principally as the emblem of Eternity. In this character his title is "Wu-liang-sheu", and a Sutra bearing this title was one of the earliest translated into Chinese.

Numerous passages, however, might be cited to show that the true idea of Amitâbha is to be looked for in the "inner self"—this is the mystic form of the Belief. The "Heart" (oneself) is said to be the same as Buddha. And from this belief, connected with the previous ideas of the

[1] The Sun. the source of light, had long been regarded as the type of "eternity."

glory and eternity of the Supreme, sprang the intense adoration paid by the Chinese to the idea of Amitâbha under the title of the "compassionate and loving Father of men." For if the "heart", the inner self, be the same as the "universal self," then such a close connection, or rather such an "identity", necessitates the idea of most intimate communion of interests; "the Great self" cannot be forgetful of all that which is but itself—though under the delusion of separation from its source—and must finally bring it back to the condition itself enjoys.

This mystical development led to one further form of belief. How is the "Self" manifested?—how is the inner mind of a man made known? By speech! Speech therefore became the manifested form of Amitâbha. And hence another popular phase of this mystical worship. Speech or Vâch was regarded as the Son or the manifestation of the Eternal Self, and was adored under the name of Avalokitêshwara, the manifested God. This name in Chinese took the form of Kwan-shai-yin, and the Divinity worshipped under that name (generally regarded as a female), has become the object of almost universal reverence both in China and Japan. We shall have occasion to speak on this part of our subject hereafter.

I intend to illustrate the worship paid to Amitâbha by two extracts, the first taken from a popular work known as the Tsing-tu-wan, and the second from the Sûtra known as the Wu-liang-shen-king, in which we have a full account of the Sukhavatî, or Paradise in the West, over which Amitâbha is supposed to preside.

1. THE INVOCATION[1] OF BUDDHA AS A MEANS OF DELIVERANCE.

What is this Buddha?

The great master of the three worlds. The loving father of all that lives (the four forms of life).

[1] Nim. This word corresponds to Smriti, and means generally the power of memory; but in the connection of the text it refers to the intense application of mind to a consideration of the subject mentioned.

And what is it to take refuge in him and to believe in him? Nothing less than to secure the destruction of sins as innumerable as the sands of the Ganges. Now as to the term invocation (nim), this is the means by which we attain endless bliss. Every person, therefore, desirous of thus invoking Buddha, should be anxious first of all to excite in himself a believing heart. If a man has no faith, he is utterly without protection. Therefore the words of the Sûtra, in speaking of the marks of Faith are these, "Faith is the first necessity for the man who enters on the practice of Religion. Wisdom is the mysterious result of such practice." The first requisite here spoken of is Faith. The result of such practice is Wisdom. And therefore the Amitâbha Sûtra says: "Every faithful person ought naturally to pray for birth in that happy country (Paradise)." This is an illustration of the way in which our own Master Sâkya Muni exhorts us to Faith.

Again, that same Sûtra says, "You, then, who believe these words of praise and commendation, shall obtain unbounded merit." In this place we have an example of the way in which all the Buddhas belonging to the six quarters exhort to Faith. Again there is this passage, "Whoever would obey the words of this Scripture must adopt Faith as his guide." This is what the Avatamsaka Sûtra says, exhorting to Faith.

Again there is a passage which says, "If a man is well-rooted, yet if he doubts, the flower will not open; but if he believes, then his heart (inner self) pure and calm, opening out like the flower opens from the bud, he forthwith beholds Buddha, and comprehends (hears) the law." This extract is one which exhorts us to faith, as a means to birth in that land. Again, it is said, "A man without faith cannot stand, any more than a chariot without a cross-bar can travel." This is an extract from a secular work[1] exhorting to faith. There is another place which

[1] Viz., from the twenty-second cap. of the second book of the "Analects." Dr. Legge translates the word "sin" by "truthfulness," but our author is evidently discoursing on "Faith."

says: "If a man have faith, then all his words are agreeable with right reason, and when this is the case he will gradually advance to perfection." This is what the Priest Chau says in exhorting to faith.

Again the Hoshang Tai-hing, when speaking about invoking Buddha, says: "This mode of salvation concerns itself neither about conformity nor non-conformity (with any particular system); it considers not male or female, rich or poor, mean or honourable—all it requires is Faith."

But a man may reply: "What you have said about Faith may be true enough, but you have not yet declared what form of doctrine it is we ought to believe." To this we say: "Believe what is said in the Scriptures—believe that if you fix your mind upon Buddha, you shall certainly be born in Paradise (pure-land); believe that if you fix your mind upon Buddha, you shall certainly destroy the effects of sin; believe that if you fix your mind on Buddha, you shall certainly secure his protection; believe if you thus fix your mind on Buddha that at the moment of your death he will himself come and lead you (to heaven); believe that if you thus fix your mind on Buddha, without any questions asked—you shall be born in the pure abode, and certainly possess the thirty-three distinctive signs of eminence, never more to be subject to change, but to enjoy the most perfect bliss, beyond the reach of birth or death, an associate of the Bôdhisatwas, never more to depart from the presence of Buddha, born by a transforming power on the flower-cup of the Lotus. Believe in Amitâbha, and during the present time repeat the Law; believe that you may be born in Paradise, for ever free from the three evil modes of birth in Hell.

"Thus it is with one voice we are exhorted to fix the mind upon Buddha."

The treatise continues in this strain to exhort its readers to faith in the efficacy of this particular form of religious life. It points out by quotations from the Sûtras, and by very striking comparisons that no religious exercise can be of use except it be accompanied by a firm faith in its effi-

cacy; "like a tree whose root is deeply bedded in the earth, the winds and storms vainly rage against it", so is the man whose faith is deeply rooted in the heart; so again it says, quoting from the Vimalakîrrti Sutra, "the man in whose heart this faith is deeply implanted is like the diamond, incapable of destruction", &c. It then shows that there are five ways in which this worship may be practised. 1, Bodily reverence in the presence of Amitâbha; 2, by chanting his praises, *i. e.*, by ever repeating the name of this Buddha; 3, by intense aspiration, *i. e.* by ever praying when in the act of worship to be born in the Paradise of 'Sukhavatî; 4, by constant meditation, as when walking, or standing, or sitting, or lying down to sleep, ever to be thinking and pondering on the perfections of Amitâbha, and longing to be born in his Paradise; 5, by the method known as "hwui-hiang," which is explained as consisting in a "constant recollection of the ceremonies of worship, and the vast merit of Buddha, with a view to cultivate the aspiration after birth in Paradise and the accomplishment of supreme wisdom."

The treatise then proceeds to shew that there are four modes of preparation or discipline necessary for entering on this religious service: "1. To bind oneself down for a long time to this single consideration, viz., the way to obtain birth in that Paradise. 2. By reverencing the particular locality, *i. e.*, by standing upright and facing the west, and with fixed mind to consider the subject of that Paradise. 3. By uninterrupted application, allowing no thought either good or bad to intrude into the mind for a moment. 4. By incessant invocation through a fixed period, whether it be for one whole day, or for seven days continuously, of this name of Amitâbha Buddha." There is also a quotation from the Amitâbha Sûtra introduced, to this effect: "Sariputra! if there be a virtuous man or a virtuous woman, who has heard the name of Amitâbha mentioned, and who with firm purpose retains the name, and recites it for one day or two days, or for seven days with

undivided heart, and without any confused thoughts, this man when about to die shall behold Amitâbha with all his holy attendants (saints) appearing before him, and if at his last moments his heart be not turned aside from its stedfastness, he shall pass away to be born in that most blissful Paradise of Sukhavatî."

But then comes the question, "if the invocation of the name of this Buddha for one entire day be sufficient, why extend the period to two days or seven?" to which the answer is given: "This question of one day or seven concerns the period of time just before death; if the sickness be a sudden and fatal one, then the recitation of the name for one entire day will secure a birth in Heaven (Paradise); if the illness be a lingering one, then the name recited for seven days shall produce the same result."

From the whole subject, it seems that this mystical form of faith, was developed from the idea of the possibility of an entirely subjective mode of salvation—in other words, that salvation was purely the result of a particular condition of thought, rather than the consequence of a confirmed alteration of life.

2. THE WESTERN PARADISE.

[*Translated from the Chinese version of Kumârajîva, as it is found in the Shan-mun-yih-tung.*]

"Thus have I heard. On a certain occasion Buddha was residing at Srâvastî, in the garden of Jeta, with the great Bhikshus, 1,250 in all, being great Rahats, possessed of perfect knowledge, to wit, the venerable Sâriputra, the great Maudgalyâyana, the great Kâsyapa, the great Kâtyâyana, the great Gochira, Revata, Srutavimsatikoti, Nanda, Ananda, Rahula, Gavâmpati, Pindola, Bharadvâja, Kâlâditya, the great Kapphina, Vakula, Aniruddha, and so forth, all great disciples. And in addition to these were all the great Bôdhisatwas: to wit, Manjusrî, king of the law, Ajita, Maitreya,

and so forth, all great Bôdhisatwas; and, moreover, there were present Sakra râja and others, with innumerable Devas. At this time Buddha addressed the venerable Sariputra as follows:—"In the western regions more than one hundred thousand myriads of systems of worlds beyond this, there is a Sakwala named Sukhavatî. Why is this region so named? Because all those born in it have no griefs or sorrows: they experience only unmixed joys; therefore it is named the infinitely happy land. Again, Sariputra, this happy region is surrounded by seven rows of ornamental railings, seven rows of exquisite curtains, seven rows of waving trees—hence, again, it is called the infinitely happy region. Again, Sariputra, this happy land possesses seven gemmous lakes, in the midst of which flow waters possessed of the eight distinctive qualities (viz., limpidity and purity, refreshing coolness, sweetness, softness, fertilising qualities, calmness, power of preventing famine, productiveness). Spreading over the bottom of these lakes are golden sands, whilst the four sides have pleasant walks enriched with gold, silver, crystal, lapis-lazuli, beryl, ruby, and cornelian. In the middle of the lakes are lotus flowers, large as a chariot wheel, blue, yellow, red, and white, each reflecting brilliant hues of its own colour, and possessed of the most perfect and delightful fragrance. Thus, O Sâriputra, this blessed region is perfected and thoroughly adorned.

"Again, Sâriputra, the land of that Buddha ever shares in heavenly delights (or music), the ground is resplendent gold, at morning and evening showers of the Divine Udambara flower descend upon all those born there, at early dawn the most exquisite blossoms burst out at their side: thousand myriads of Buddhas instantly resort here for refreshment, and then return to their own regions, and for this reason, Sâriputra, that land is called most happy.

"Again, Sâriputra, that region is possessed of every species of pleasure delightful to the senses, birds of every hue, the white stork, the peacock, the macaw, garudas, birds of every

kind, all these, at morning and evening, unite to sing the praises of the law, so that all born in that land, hearing these notes, are led to invoke Buddha, the Law and the Assembly. But, Sâriputra, you must not suppose that these birds are born in this state in the way of retribution for sins in a superior condition, and why not? Because, in that region there exists not either of the three evil ways of birth, (*i.e.*, as a beast, demon, or asura). Sariputra! that land being emphatically free from these evil ways of birth, is thereby more fully possessed of the superior ways of birth, and these different kinds of birds are all of them the different apparitional forms of superior beings, whom Amitâbha Buddha causes thus to chaunt the various sounds of the Law. Sâriputra, in that land of Buddha, whenever a gentle breeze moves softly, then the various precious waving trees, and the gemmous curtain that surrounds the land, emit a gentle and mysterious sound, like a thousand different kinds of music, all at the same time; on hearing which, the dwellers in that land conceive, spontaneously, a heart full of adoration for Buddha, the Law, and the Assembly.

"Sâriputra, this land is thus perfectly adorned, and complete in pleasure.

"But now, Sâriputra, you would perhaps inquire why the Buddha of that region is called Amitâbha. Sâriputra! it is because he is immeasurably bright and glorious, so that his splendour fills the land of the ten regions, and no obstacle can oppose the diffusion of the rays of his glory,[1] for this reason he is called Amitâbha. Again, Sâriputra, the years of the life of that Buddha, as men compute them, are endless, and without bound, in asankheyas of years—for this reason, also, he is called Amitâbha. For ten kalpas of years, that Buddha has enjoyed his present condition, and has for his disciples an endless and incalculable number of Srâvakas, all of them Rahats, innumerable, and not to be expressed for multitude, and Bôdhisatwas equally vast in number. So it is, Sâriputra, that land of Buddha is per-

[1] Burn., *Introd.*, p. 100.

fected. Again, Sâriputra, in that land of perfect joy all who are born, are born as Avaivartyas (never to return),[1] whilst among these there are numbers who make *this* their resting-place, before that one birth more (which shall end in their arriving at Buddhaship) ; infinite are those in number, not to be expressed for multitude, simply innumerable.

"Sâriputra ! all mortals who hear this account, ought to offer up this one vow—that they may be born in that country—and why ? because, if once born there, they obtain the felicity of only one more appearance as superior sages (and then obtain the condition of Buddha.) Sâriputra, it is not possible to be born in that country possessing an inferior Karma ; Sariputra ! if there be a virtuous man or woman who hears this account of Amitâbha Buddha, and who assiduously invokes his name for one day or two, up to seven, and during this time maintains a heart unaffected by worldly thoughts, or confused ideas—that man or woman, when about to die, shall be blessed with a clear vision of Amitâbha and all his saints, and at the last moment, if his heart be not turned back, he shall depart, and forthwith be born in that most blessed land of Amitâbha Buddha. Sâriputra ! I perceive that such will be the happy consequence (of so doing) and therefore I repeat these words ; whatever men they be who hear them, they ought at once to utter this vow, that they may be born in that land.

"Sâriputra ! thus it is I would recite in stanzas of commendation, the excellence of that infinitely glorious land of Amitâbha Buddha.

[The Sûtra then proceeds to speak of the various Buddhas towards each of the four points, and also in the zenith and nadir. This being a mere recital of names, is omitted here.]

"Sâriputra ! what say you as to the meaning of this expression, the saving power which resides in the repetition of the names of all the Buddhas ? Sâriputra ! if there be a virtuous man or woman who hears and receives this Sûtra,

[1] *Lalita Vistara*, 267.

and who hears the names of all the Buddhas, these virtuous men or women, in consequence of the saving power which resides in the repetition of these names, shall all obtain the privilege of not passing through and revolving in the condition of Anuttara Samyak Sambodhi, *i. e.*, the unsurpassably just and enlightened heart. (This is the condition usually assigned to the Bôdhisatwa, before arriving at the state of Buddha.) Wherefore, Sâriputra, ye all ought to receive and believe these my words, and the words of all the Buddhas.

"Sâriputra! if there be a man who has vowed, or now vows, or shall vow and desire, to be born in that region, all these men shall be privileged not to remain or revolve in the condition of Anuttara Samyak Sambôdhi, but to be born at once in their various conditions in the land of that Buddha, whether in time past, now, or henceforth. Wherefore, Sâriputra, whatever faithful man or woman there be, they ought all to put up this prayer, that they may be born in that land. Sâriputra, as I have now thus recounted the praises of all these Buddhas, their indescribable excellences, so those Buddhas likewise recount my praises and infinite excellences, and speak thus:—'Sâkya Muni Buddha is he that is *able*[1] to accomplish most difficult results (prompted by) his exceeding love—he it is who is 'able' in the So-ho world (Sahâlokadhâtu), the evil world of five impurities (viz., violence, perception, calamities, birth, death)—he it is who is 'able,' in the midst of these, to arrive at the condition of Anuttara Samyak Sambodhi, and on account of all sentient creatures to repeat his Law, difficult to be embraced by those for whom it is said.'

"Sâriputra! know, then, that I, in the midst of this evil and calamitous world, preaching these difficult doctrines, have arrived at the condition of Anuttara Samyak Sambôdhi, and now, on account of all creatures, have declared this Law difficult to be believed, and this is that which is most difficult."

[1] Alluding to the word "Sâk" (able), from which Sâkya's name is derived.

Buddha having repeated this Sûtra, Sâriputra and all the Bikshus, and all the assembly, the Devas, Asuras, and so on, having heard what Buddha said, joyfully received and believed it, and having prostrated themselves in adoration, departed.

3. THE WORSHIP OF KWAN-YIN.

As the Paradise of Amitâbha is the desire of the great body of Buddhists in China and Japan, so Kwan Yin is worshipped as the "Saviour of men," able to remove the obstacles which prevent them from attaining that happy condition. This cultus is a very singular one. We naturally inquire whence they derived their ideal of such a Being as Kwan-yin—a Being who has declared his purpose, under the most solemn oath, to manifest himself to every creature in the universe, in order to deliver all men from the consequences of sin.

If written in full, the Chinese title of this Bôdhisatwa would be "Kwan-shai-yin," a title translated by Sir J. Davis "she who hears the cries of men"; whilst MM. Klaproth and Julien consider it as a mistaken version of the Sanscrit original "Avalokitêshwara." Without doubt the original appellation of the Bôdhisatwa *was* Avalokitêshwara; but the theory that "îswara" was confounded with "svara" by the pandits who translated the Sanscrit into Chinese is, I think, an improbable one.

In the first place, it is very unlikely that the priests employed to translate the original texts into Chinese could have committed so grave an error as to confound these two dissimilar words.

In the second place, as evidence that they did not, we have a correct translation of the expression "îsvara" in the same sentence;[1] in the first instance it is rendered "Kwan-yin," in the second "tseu-tsai," *i. e.*, the "self-existent" (isvara).

But thirdly, in the "Kwan-yin" section of the Saddharma Pundarika we find a correct version of Mahêswara, from the

[1] Introduction to the Liturgy of Kwan-yin.

Sanscrit Maha îswara; it is very unlikely, therefore, that the translators should have in one case faithfully rendered the original into its Chinese equivalent, and in the other case have mistaken a similarly compounded word for a totally different expression.

But we obtain further evidence on the question by turning to the heading of the twenty-fourth chapter of the *Lotus of the Good Law*. This heading, in the version of Burnouf, is "le récit parfaitement heureux." In the Chinese version it is simply "The recital of Kwan-shai-yin Bôdhisatwa." The two phrases are sufficiently unlike. But Burnouf, in a note on this chapter (p. 428), informs us that he had confused "sarmantamukha" in his Sanscrit text with "sarmantasukha." The latter expression would signify just as much as "parfaitement heureux," whilst the former is simply a counterpart of the Chinese "Kwan-shai-yin," *i. e.*, "the universally manifested voice."[1] It seems evident from this that the expression "Kwan-shai-yin" is but a version of the Sanscrit "Sarmantamukha."

Similar evidence may be gathered from the following

[1] Burnouf, it is true, renders "sarmantamukha" by "he whose face looks every way"; but it would seem that the translators of the phrase into Chinese preferred to render "mukha" by "voice," *i. e.*, "that which proceeds from the mouth," having perhaps in their mind the arguments of the Mimansa respecting the eternal manifestation of "sound" or "the word" (sabda). Vide Muir's *Sans. Texts*, iii, 52 ss. The use of "mukha" for "voice" is borne out by such passages as the following:—"Tripadā chaiva gāyatrī vijñeyam brahmano mukham." "The gayatri of three lines is to be regarded as the mouth of Brahma." Again, "from his first mouth (prathamad mukhāt) Brahma formed the *gayātra*." "Once the Vedas sprang from the four-faced (chaturmukhāt) Creator; from his eastern and other mouths (pūrvādibhir mukaih) the Vedas called Rik, Yajush, etc." (Vide Muir's *Sansc. Texts*, iii, p. 6 ss.) From these quotations we may gather that "mukha," the mouth, may be fairly translated by "that which proceeds from the mouth," or "the manifested voice." [Viz., of Scripture. The whole question of the eternity of this "voice" or "word" is discussed in the work above quoted. Consult also the seventh and eighth caps. of Book VII, *De civitate Dei*, for a singular agreement of the "Janus quadrifrons" (as denoting "the world") with "sarmantamukha."]

considerations. (1.) The term "Vach" (voice) is sometimes used as an equivalent of Kwan-yin, as *e. gr.*, in the *Liturgy of Kwan-yin with the thousand hands and eyes*, fig. 13. (2.) The Archæological Surveyor of India, in his account of "Buddha Gaya," states that "there are two ruined temples to the east of the Great Temple, one called Târa-Deva, the other Vâgîswari-Devî. The latter contains a seated male figure (although the title Devî is applied to it; but this agrees with the confused account as to the sex of Kwan-yin in China), holding a Lotus in his left hand and a sword uplifted in his right, with a Buddhist Tope or solid tower on each side of him." But Tara-Deva and Kwan-yin are to this day conjoined in the Chinese Pantheon—the one, in fact, denoting the Divinity of Speech, the other (as it would seem) the material on which speech was written, Tâla or Tâlavriksha, the leaf of the Palmyra palm (the "ola leaf" of Ceylon); and Kwan-yin (Padmapani) is still figured as bearing a Lotus in one hand (to signify his self-existence) and a sword in the other (to signify his vow to save the world) in the Chinese liturgical works. But (3.) if any further proof were necessary, we might refer to the statement of Hodgson (*Collected Essays*, p. 68), "that one of the intercommunicable titles of Padmapani (*i. e.*, the Lotus-bearer or Kwan-yin) is Vachîshwara, *i. e.*, the Voice-Deity."

On the whole, it would seem that the worship of Kwan-yin was first introduced into the Buddhist devotion under the form of "Avalokitêshwara," or the "manifested Divinity," at the time when the traditional Scriptures were reduced to writing. The discovery and first use of written language was an event, however insignificant it may seem to us, of the greatest importance to those concerned, and an occasion for the utmost reverence in the eyes of the people. And it was consecrated in Buddhist history by the introduction of a Divinity into the Canon, whose title was significant of the discovery. We are told that the traditional Scriptures were first reduced to writing in Ceylon about 450 years after the Nirvâna of Buddha; the account runs thus:—"After the

Nirvâna of Buddha, for the space of 450 years, the text and commentaries and all the works of the Tathâgata were preserved and transmitted by wise priests, orally (mukhapâthena). But having seen the evils attendant upon this mode of transmission, 550 Rahats, of great authority, in the cave called Aloka, in the province of Malaya, in Lankâ, under the guardianship of the chief of that province, caused the (sacred) books to be written."[1] It was in consequence of this circumstance that Kwan-yin (samanta-mukha) was canonised as a Bôdhisatwa, having supplanted the mukhapâthena (spoken-words).

If we might conjecture further, it would seem as if the Pôtalôka[2] of the Malayagiri range (the Maleæ montes of Pliny and Ptolemy), which is constantly represented as the favourite resort of Avalokitêshwara, were but a compound of Bôdhi and Aloka, denoting the fact that it was in this cave of Aloka that the great translation of the books was accomplished. At least there are corroborative circumstances to render it probable. (1.) There was a chapel called "Bôdhi" erected close to the Sañghârama called "Abhayagiri," on the mount called Mahintala, near Anuradhapura.[3] Now the Sañghârama "Abhayagiri" was built by the monarch Welagambahu, who brought together the five hundred priests who reduced the tenets of Buddhism to writing on this very spot; and forty li (*i.e.*, about eight miles) to the east of this Abhaya Vihâra is the chapel called Bôdhi: the two names, therefore, seem to be connected in the account, and the compound "Pôtalôka" is probably the result of the connection. But (2.) one of the most frequent epithets of Kwan-yin or Avalokitêshwara is "Abhayañdada," "he who removes fear"; the relation of this epithet with the Abhaya Mountain, where all further altercation as to the letter of

[1] Spence Hardy, *Legends*, etc., p. 192.

[2] This word is rendered "Potaraka" by Burnouf, and "Potalaka" by Julien; but it may be equally well restored from the Chinese as I have done in the text. Vide Julien, *Méthode*, 1051.

[3] Vide *Buddhist Pilgrims*, pp. 151, 158.

Scripture was removed by its reduction to a written form (and therefore all occasion for *fear* removed), is certainly not improbable. And (3.) we may add that the island of Pooto in China, which term is but another form of Pôtalôka, is inhabited by priests devoted to the worship of Kwan-yin; and one principal mode of denoting their devotion to this Bôdhisatwa is by collecting from every quarter written or printed characters of whatever description they may be, and reverently preserving them from destruction.

We only add that in Nipal the Scriptures are frequently called "Buddha vachana"; whilst "the poorest individual who visits the valley from the north is seldom without his Pothi (book), and from every part of his dress dangle "charms," made up in slight cases, the interior of which exhibits the neatest workmanship in *print*."[1]

We may gather, then, with some degree of probability, that up to the time of the translation of the "Saddharma pundarîka" into Chinese (about A.D. 300), the name of Kwan-yin, as explanatory of the peculiar character of Avalokitêshwara, was unknown, and that it was then introduced as a translation of the Sanscrit "samantamukha." But we know, from the brief Sûtra which stands at the beginning of Hiouen Thsang's version of the "Prajña pâramitâ," that Avalokitêshwara was regarded with much reverence at the time when that work was composed, and we cannot place that date later than Nagardjuna, or about the time of Kanishka (40 A.D.); so that we may reasonably suppose that the Chinese were not unacquainted with the name "Avalokitêshwara" even before the translation of the *Lotus of the Good Law* into their language.

Kwan-yin is regarded as the "son of Amitâbha," which appears to mean that "sound" or "the word" is eternal. It is impossible to separate the conflicting theories of the Buddhists and the Brahmans, which, during the period we are now considering, appear to have become hopelessly

[1] Hodgson, *Collected Essays*, pp. 15, 17.

intermingled. The Brahmans doggedly maintained the eternity of the Vedas, and to prove that eternity they insisted on the eternity of sound; the Buddhists, denying the authority of the Vedas, nevertheless equally insisted on the eternity of *their* "Amitâbha," from whom proceeded, or by whom was generated, the merciful Bôdhisatwa Kwan-yin, the "Voice" or the "Word," that is everywhere diffused.[1]

There are a vast number of books or small tracts printed in China relating to Kwan-yin. It is beyond the limits of the present work to allude to these. The most complete exposition of the worship of this divinity is found in the sixth book of the Surañgama Sûtra. From that account it would seem that the Bôdhisatwa Kwan-yin received his inspiration from a former Buddha of the same name, and that the title he bears is significant of his "perfect intelligence" and "perfect manifestation"; in other words, of the "manifestation of perfect intelligence." The Sûtra then proceeds to shew how this manifestation is effected, viz., by a mystical in-turning of the soul upon itself. All external influences being destroyed, so that there is no longer beginning or end, birth or death, then the joy-thought is produced, and the "self" manifested. "In a moment the truth is arrived at, and the two excellences of all Being realised, viz., the infinite power (lih) and the infinite love of the Supreme." The book then proceeds to shew under what forms Kwan-yin, by the power he possesses, manifests himself objectively to those who invoke him. There are thirty-two distinct modes of manifestation named, in each of which his purpose is to bring deliverance to different classes of creatures, from the highest to the lowest. Hence he is called the "Deliverer" or the "Rescuer"; and he is said to have vowed with an oath to save completely (kih pă) all that breathes. The exposition then proceeds to shew how he "gives deliverance from fear" (abhayamdada) in fourteen cases, which are successively mentioned; and lastly, it ex-

[1] It seems, to me at least, evident that there was an infusion of Neo-Platonism into Southern Buddhism at an early period.

plains the character of four superior excellences (endowments) possessed by Kwan-yin, by virtue of which he is able to carry out his great object of saving the whole universe. Afterwards the Dharani are recited by which these wonderful results are attained.

From this account it appears that in a mystical sense Kwan-yin is the ideal of an in-dwelling Divine consciousness, which may be evoked by processes of a purely mechanical nature.

There is, however, another exposition of this cultus less mystical, and therefore more intelligible, commonly met with in China and Japan. This is an extract from the *Lotus of the Good Law* (miau-fah-lien-hwa), being, in fact, the twenty-fourth chapter of Burnouf's translation, relating to "samantamukha." In the Chinese it is generally known as the "Pho-mŭn" or the "Manifestation Section," and is very generally read by the masses of the people. I have before me two copies, printed in Yedo, of this section of the complete work; and as a translation of it will throw light on the whole subject, and at the same time illustrate in some degree the version of Burnouf from the Sanscrit, I shall proceed to render it into English.

4. KWAN-SHAI-YIN-PUH-SAH-PHO-MŬN.

"At this time the Bôdhisatwa Akchayamati immediately rose from his seat, and having bared his shoulder, and bent his right knee, with closed hands he stood before Buddha, and spoke as follows: "World-honoured one![1] Whence and for what reasons is the name of Kwan-shai-yin derived?" Budda replied to Akchayamati Bôdhisatwa thus: "Illustrious youth! though there were untold millions of creatures in the universe all suffering from miseries incident to their several conditions, they need only hear this name of Kwan-shai-yin Bôdhisatwa, and with 'one heart' invoke it, and Kwan-shai-yin immediately perceiving the sounds of the

[1] Rendered by Burnouf "Bhagavat."

voice so pronounced,[1] shall deliver them all. If those who thus hold to the repetition of this name of Kwan-shai-yin, should happen to fall into a great fire, the fire should have no power to burn them; because of the eminent spiritual power of this Bôdhisatwa. If again they should be washed away by a wild river torrent; invoking this name, they shall at once be landed on a shallow spot. If again, an incalculably large body of people were to embark on the wide ocean with the intention of seeking for gold or silver, or crystal (lew-le, glass), or opal (c'hay k'hen), or cornelian (ma-lo), or coral (san-hoo), or amber (hoo-pih), or the true pearl and similar gems; and if, perchance, there were to rise a black wind, which should drive their ship towards a country inhabited by Rakshasis; if, amidst all this number of persons there were only one to invoke the name of Kwan-shai-yin Bôdhisatwa, all these persons should obtain deliverance from this misery of the Rakshasis. For these reasons, therefore, is the name Kwan-shai-yin given.

"If, again, there were a man just on the point of being murdered, and if he were to invoke the name of Kwan-shai-yin, the weapon held by the person about to attack him, should suddenly break in two, and he should be delivered. And if, again, the entire chiliocosm were crowded full of Yakshas and Rakshasas desirous to come and vex mankind, on hearing this name of Kwan-shai-yin invoked, all these wicked spirits should be unable even with their evil eyes to see the forms of men, much less to hurt them.

"If, again, for example, there were a man who was fast bound with fetters, or manacles of iron or wood, whether he were really guilty of crime or not, let him only invoke the name of Kwan-shai-yin Bôdhisatwa, and at once his fetters shall fall off, and he forthwith be set free.

"If again, the whole chiliocosm were full of robbers much to be feared, and if there were a merchant prince in company with a body of other merchants who carried very pre-

[1] This explanation is wanting in the French version.

cious jewels, and if whilst going along a narrow defile, there were to be only one man amongst them, who should recite these following words: "Illustrious companions! fear not, nor be afraid. You need only with 'one heart' invoke the name of Kwan-shai-yin Bôdhisatwa, who is able to give all creatures 'freedom from fear,' invoke but his name and you shall not be hurt by these dreadful robbers, but escape them all." The merchant men hearing these words forthwith raising their voices, and saying: "Glory to Kwan-shai-yin Bôdhisatwa," because they invoke that name shall find immediate deliverance. So great, Akchayamati, is the august spiritual power of Kwan-shai-yin Bôdhisatwa, Mahâsatwa.

"If there be any creature under the influence of lustful passion, by constant reverence and invocation (of Kwan-yin) Kwan-shai-yin Bôdhisatwa will send and procure deliverance for such a being, and banish his lust; and so if any one be subject to the dominion of anger, Kwan-shai-yin in answer to such an one's invocation and reverence will cause the dominion of this passion to be destroyed, and so also in the case of those under the influence of delusion (or unbelief), Kwan-shai-yin will in answer to the same religious exercises, cause all such delusion to disappear. Thus, Akchayamati, Kwan-shai-yin Bôdhisatwa is able to exercise his eminent spiritual power for the advantage of all creatures. They, therefore, ought to invoke his name with their whole heart, and constantly.

"If, again, there be a woman, who has set herself to desire a man-child, and in furtherance of her desire resorts to worship and sacrifice, Kwan-shai-yin Bôdhisatwa will cause her to become the mother of a well-endowed and highly-gifted child. Or if she desires a female child, she shall become the mother of one extremely beautiful, possessed of every grace (sign), endowed with every gift, and beloved by all. So it is, Akchayamati, Kwan-shai-yin is possessed of every spiritual power.

"And so, if there were a man who retained in his memory, the names of Bôdhisatwas equal in number to sixty-two lakhs

of sands of the Ganges, and rendered to them every outward worship, and presented to them food, drink and clothes, sleeping materials and medicaments, the merits of such a man, would, doubtless, be very great.

Extremely great! replied Akchaymati.

Buddha answered, if, on the other hand, there should be a man who retains in his memory, the name of Kwan-shai-yin Bôdhisatwa, and if only for one hour (or, for once) render worship to him and sacrifice, the merit of the two classes or persons above named, shall not be different; so great," etc.

Akchayamati addressing Buddha, spoke thus: "World honoured one! Why is it Kwan-shai-yin continues to frequent this Sahalôkadhatu, using every expedient to bring men (all flesh) to the due repetition of the law?"

Buddha replied: Illustrous youth! If there be a land (kshetra), whose inhabitants may be saved by the appearance of one in the form of Buddha, then Kwan-shai-yin forthwith assuming the outward appearance of a Buddha, goes to that land, and declares the law. If again there be a land where Salvation may be secured by the appearance of a Pratyêka-Buddha, Kwan-shai-yin assuming the body of a Pratyêka-Buddha, goes to that land and delivers the law, [and so on, in the case of a similar possibility, as a Srawaka, a Brahma-râjah, Sakra-râjah, Ishwara-Deva, Mahêshwara-deva, Maha-sêna,[1] Vâisramana, a Râjah-desya, a nobleman (Arya[2]), a householder (Grihapati), a Minister, a Brahman, a Bhisksu, or Bhikshuni, a Upâsaka, or Upâsikâ. The wife of a nobleman, or a householder, or a minister, or a Brahman, as a young child, male or female, as a Deva, a Nâga, a Yaksha, a Gandharva, an Asura, a Kinnara, a Garuda, a Mahôraga, a man or that which is not a man (fei-yin is generally rendered a Kinnara)], in all these cases appearing in these several shapes, and declaring the law for the sake of the different classes of creatures named, not omitting the case

[1] The French gives "Sêna-pati."

[2] Chang-che. Julien renders "Chang-che" by "Grihapati" (III, p. 455).

of those who may be saved by the appearance of Vajrapani, in all these instances, Akchayamati, Kwan-shai-yin Bôdhisatwa, perfected with every merit, by assuming throughout every land these various forms, brings deliverance to creatures of every form. You ought, therefore, with undivided heart (yih-sin), to adore and worship this Kwan-shai-yin Bôdhisatwa, Mahâsatwa, for it is he who in the midst of every fear-causing calamity is able to give security (fearlessness), and therefore he is called throughout this Sahalôkadhatu, (the god) who gives perfect fearlessness (Abhayañdada).

Then Akchayamati Bôdhisatwa addressing Buddha said: World honoured one, let me now present an offering to this Bôdhisatwa Kwan-shai-yin; then loosening from his neck an entire pearl necklace, of the value of a hundred thousand golden pieces, he presented it to the Bôdhisatwa, and said: "Virtuous one! receive from me this precious necklace as a religious offering."[1] Kwan-shai-yin Bôdhisatwa, declined to receive it. Akcayamati, addressing Kwan-shai-yin Bôdhisatwa, said: Virtuous one! deign to receive this precious necklace, from a motive of pity to me, and to all! Then Buddha, addressing Kwan-shai-yin Bôdhisatwa, said: In pity to this Akchayamati Bôdhisatwa, and the four classes of hearers, (Bhikshus, Bhikshunis, Upâsakas, Upâsikâs), as well as to Devas, Nâgas, Yakshas, Gandharvas, Asuras, Garudas, Kinnaras, Mahôragas, and Pretas (jin-fei-jin), accept this necklace! (ying-lŏ).[2] Forthwith Kwan-shai-yin Bôdhisatwa, in pity to the four classes, and the nine species of supernatural beings, accepted the necklace, and dividing it[3] into two parts, presented one part to Sakya-muni, and the other part to the Stûpa of the Buddha Prabhûtaratna.

Thus it is, oh! Akchayamati, the Bôdhisatwa Kwan-shai-

[1] Fah-shi. The meaning of this phrase is explained, Maha-pari-Nirvâna-Sutra, Kiouen xxxv, p. 17. Vide also *supra*, p. 3, n.

[2] Ratnâvali.

[3] This differs from the version of Burnouf, as indeed many of the Gâthas following do.

yin, possessing this supernatural power of Iswara, makes his appearance in the Sahalôkadhatu.

Then Akchayamati Bôdhisatwa commenced the following gâthas, by way of query (or for the purpose of question) :—

1. World honoured one! endowed with most excellent marks. I now again demand why that son of Buddha, and through what means, has received the name of Kwan-shai-yin.

2. The excellently endowed Bhagavat, in gâthas replied to Akchayamati. Listen then to the conduct of Kwan-yin, as he illustriously manifests himself in every region of space.

3. That mighty oath of his, deep as the sea; the endless Kalpas, inconceivable in number, through which he has followed as many thousand myriads of Buddhas, aspiring to the accomplishment of his pure and holy resolution.

4. All this I now for your sake will briefly narrate: Hearing the name leading to the revelation of (his) body, the heart dwelling on the thought, not empty or vain, (but) able to destroy all the sorrows of existence.

5. Suppose one were sent with evil purpose to cast another into the great fiery lake, the power of invoking the name of that Kwan-yin would be sufficient to change completely that lake of fire into a lake of water.

6. (Suppose), again, a man were driven away into that forbidden sea, where Nâgas dwell, and demons and every danger [*i.e.*, the dangers arising from Nâgas and demons]. The force of the invocation of that Kwan-yin would be sufficient to prevent those seething floods from doing harm.

7. (Suppose), again, a man were placed upon a towering crag high as Sumeru, from which he were about to be hurled down by another, the force of invoking the name of that Kwan-yin, should arrest his fall, and make him stand in space, fixed as the sun.[1]

8. If, again, a man were cast by some evil power, (or for his evil deeds), down upon the (knives of the) Diamond

[1] So the Chinese renders it. The version of Burnouf is different.

mountain, by the power of the invocation of that Kwan-yin, they should not hurt one hair (of his head).

9. If, again, a man should chance to be surrounded by robbers much to be feared, each holding his knife ready to murder him ; the force of the invocation of that Kwan-yin, would be sufficient to produce in these murderers a loving heart.

10. If, again, a man suffering under the displeasure of his king at the execution ground were just about to be despatched, the force of the invocation of that Kwan-yin would be sufficient to snap in two, at once, the sword of the executioner.

11. If, again, a man were imprisoned, fettered hand and foot with iron greaves, and in the stocks, the force of the invocation of that Kwan-yin would be enough to break his fetters at once, and to give him release.

12. Those who by means of sorceries (words of sorcery), and poisonous herbs would destroy the person (of their enemy), shall themselves receive the curse and harm of their magical rites, if he against whom they laid their plot invoke the power of that Kwan-yin.

13. Again, were a man to encounter a wicked Raksha, or a poisonous dragon, or any other kind of evil demon, the force of the invocation of that Kwan-yin, should avail to take from it any power (courage) to destroy.

14. If a man were surrounded by evil beasts, possessed of teeth and claws much to be feared, by the force of the invocation of that Kwan-yin, impetuously would they run away towards every quarter.

15. (Were a man surrounded by) venomous snakes, (or lizards and snakes), and cobras and scorpions, breathing out their poisonous smoke and fiery flames, by the force of the invocation of that Kwan-yin, with sudden shrieks, they would themselves turn round and go.

16. If, in the midst of the thunder crash and lightning gleam, there should come floods of tempestuous rain, the man who has recourse to the power of the invocation of that

Kwan-yin, shall at the corresponding moment secure a cessation of the storm.

17. Though all creatures were afflicted and straitened by endless sorrows of bodily disease, the force of the excellent wisdom of Kwan-yin, would be sufficient to deliver them from all human afflictions.

18. Thoroughly practised in the use of spiritual power (irrdhi), extensively versed in the use of the expedients of perfect wisdom, the regions of space throughout the ten quarters, without any exception, behold the appearance of the body (of Kwan-yin.)

19. So that all the evil modes of existence in hell, as a demon or a beast; the sorrows of birth, old age, and disease, little by little, in those regions, he makes to depart.

20. True manifestation! Pure manifestation! The widely spread manifestation of true wisdom! Compassionate and loving manifestation! Ever will I pray to thee! Ever look up to thee!

21. Without spot! Pure and glorious! Sun of wisdom dispersing all darkness! Able to destroy the power of wind and fire in the overthrow of the world. Illustrious Revelation! brightly shining in all the world. [And so on for five more slôkas.]

At this time Daranimdhara Bôdhisatwa rising from his seat, standing before Buddha, said: World honoured one! Whatever persons throughout the entire world listen to this Kwan-shai-yin Bôdhisatwa Section, (containing an account of) the deeds of Ishwara, the manifestation section! making evident the power of his spiritual endowments, be assured the merit of such persons shall not be small!

Buddha having delivered this "universal manifestation section," 84,000 beings belonging to the congregation attained to the condition "Asamasana Anuttara Samyak Sambhôdi."

5. THE LITURGY OF KWAN-YIN.

There is no Liturgical service, so far as is generally

known, contained in the Buddhist Tripitaka. The Pratimôksha relates simply to a convocation of priests (Bhiskus), for the purpose of mutual confession and absolution. In fact, the absence of any proper *object* of Worship, beyond the enshrined relics of Buddha, or the places consecrated by his presence would prevent any early arrangement of a Liturgy properly so-called. The elaborate ceremonial of the Brahman Ritual, appears to have been rejected by the Buddhists, with the rejection of their creed. So that the only form of worship of which we know anything in the early days of Buddhism, is the three-fold ascription of reverence, accompanied by an offering of flowers, and (perhaps), incense, with profound prostration of body.

But when the existence of such a saviour as Kwan-shai-yin was accepted; then, it appears, the Buddhists began to arrange an office for his express worship. It is impossible to say when this office or liturgy was compiled; as it is preserved in the Chinese canon it goes back only to the date of Yung-loh of the Ming dynasty, *i.e.*, 1412 A.D.

But it might have been known in China for centuries, before it was thus incorporated in the Canon.

The form of this office is a very curious one. It bears a singular likeness in its outline to the common type of the Eastern Christian Liturgies. That is to say, there is a "Pro-anaphoral," and an "Anaphoral" portion. There is a prayer of entrance (τῆς εισόδου). A prayer of incense (τοῦ θυμιάματος). An ascription of praise to the three-fold object of worship (τρισαγίου). A prayer of oblation (τῆς προσθέσεως). The Lections. The Recitation of the Dharanî (μυστήριον). The "Embolismus," or prayer against temptation, followed by a "Confession" and "Dismissal."

The early arrival of the Nestorian Christians in China would be quite sufficient to account for this general resemblance, and particularly if we recollect that the same Emperor Táe-Tsung, who was the great patron of Buddhism, was also the protector of the new missionaries; who, in consequence, were able to build churches, and establish

themselves as a recognised body of religious worshippers in several parts of the empire.

But whencesoever derived, this liturgy of Kwan-yin is a singular phase of Buddhist worship. It is still used in the monasteries of the South of China, and I have myself on more than one occasion been present at the function. Nor can I omit to add that, in point of ritual, the Service has left a very lasting impression on my mind, and not an unfavourable one in respect to its devotional character.

The following translation is only an abstract :—

Imperial Preface to the Liturgical Services of the Great Compassionate Kwan-yin. [*Written by Yung Loh, of the Ming Dynasty,* 1412 A.D.]

It is reported that Kwan-Tseu-Tsai-Bôdhisatwa, prompted by his great compassionate heart, has engaged himself by a great oath to enter into every one of the innumerable worlds, and bring deliverance to all creatures who inhabit them.

For this purpose he has enunciated the Divine sentences which follow, which, if properly recited, will render all creatures exempt from the causes of sorrow, and so render them capable of attaining Supreme Reason.

So we, the Ruler of the Empire, because of our pity for those who ignorantly immerse themselves wholly in the affairs of the world, and are not acquainted with the virtue of these sentences to obtain for them deliverance, do hereby bring before them a mode for attaining to the condition of Supreme Wisdom.

We therefore earnestly exhort all men, whichever course they are pursuing, carefully to study the directions of this work, and faithfully to follow them.

YUNG LOH, 9th Year, 6th Month.

PREFACE.

In preparing the altar of the great Merciful One, the rules are these:—

The image of Sâkya Tathâgata Buddha must be reverently placed on an altar facing the south.

The image of the Omnipotent and Omniscient Kwan-yin[1] Bôdhisatwa should be reverently placed in the western quarter of the temple, facing east.

At the dawn of day, before any act of worship be performed, the limits of the sanctuary (mandala) must be well defined. The following is the mode—

First, take a knife, and mark out on the ground the prescribed limits of the sacred place, at the same time repeating the words.

Then take pure water, and sprinkle it towards the four quarters, repeating the words.

Then take clean ashes, and scatter them on the ground, repeating the words.

Then take a silken cord, consisting of threads of five colours, and bind it round the four sides of the sanctuary, repeating the words.

The sacred limits having been thus determined, the next care must be to provide all necessary adjuncts of worship for the sanctuary, viz., flowing streamers, burning lamps, incense, flowers, offerings of food; all these must be carefully provided.

The incense, especially, must be prepared from sandal wood, not such as is commonly used, which may not be genuine, or, at least, not free from adulteration, but of the purest kind.

The western portion of the building should be covered with mats, or, if the ground be damp, kneeling stools may be provided.

The days appointed for worship and for reciting the sentences are the three seventh days of the month; the

[1] Kwan-yin with the thousand hands and thousand eyes.

"hours" are six, viz., thrice in the morning and thrice in the evening. There must on no account be any abatement of the prescribed hours.

Before entering the sacred precincts, due attention must be given to personal cleanliness; the garments worn must be new ones and clean, or, if not new, at any rate the best in the possession of the worshippers.

One hour before and after service there should be no mixed conversation. On meeting one another there should be merely the customary mode of respectful salutation.

After the first service (*i. e.*, the service of the first canonical hour) the mind should be chiefly occupied in considering and weighing the nature of the ten vows of obligation entered on. The thoughts should be so occupied without intermission. Even whilst eating and drinking such thoughts should be persevered in, nor should the impressions received be allowed to be lost.

But if at time of prayer there be no devotional thoughts, but only a confused way of going through external duties, and if after worship there be indifferent conversation, gossiping and babbling, hurrying to and fro, lounging about or sleeping, just as on ordinary days; if there be such criminal acts of careless self-indulgence, what benefit or assistance can we look for from our religious exercises?

The rules and directions for the service must also be properly studied and prepared; so that in going through it there may be outward decorum observed as well as inward devotion, whilst each portion of it is properly rendered.

Without such preparation, at the time of beginning the service, the mind and thoughts will be confused and hurried, and so the whole course of it will be unprofitable and nugatory.

Finally, let all worshippers strive after a firm faith, and excite in themselves an earnest intention; and so having purified the three faculties of thought, speech, and action, and engaging in this worship in a spirit of entire devotion, they shall obtain their prayers.

End of Preface.

THE ENTRANCE.

[*Direction.*]—The worshippers, on entering the main court of the Temple, shall reverently bow the head. On leaving it let them say—

[*Invocation.*]—Hail! Great Compassionate Kwan-yin Bôdhisatwa!

[*Direction.*]—Slowly and reverently reciting this invocation, let them enter the sanctuary, and having invested the altar three times, and arranged themselves in an upright position, let them, after reflection, begin the following Hymn of Praise:—

[*Hymn.*]—

Hail diffusive Incense-Cloud![1]
Bright mirror of the Divine excellences!
Far-spreading, boundless is the Heart of Wisdom (Divine essence).
Wherever lights one single ray (of that wisdom)
There is worship—there is praise—
To honour him who reigns as King in the midst of all.

[*Invocation.*] — All hail, Incense-cloud-canopy, Bôdhisatwa! Mahâsatwa. (To be repeated three times.)

[*Direction.*]—The Hymn of Praise being finished, then chant the following:—

[*Chant.*]—Profoundly Reverent,

In close communion[2] we adore the Everlasting Buddha, and the Everlasting Law, and the Everlasting Assembly (Church). (One bow after each ascription.) [Then continue], "This whole assembly, prostrate in adoration, holding flowers and incense, presents this bounden sacrifice.

[*Direction.*]—Here the worshippers, holding flowers and incense in their hands, shall prostrate themselves and chant—

[*Chant.*]—Oh! may this incense-cloud and the perfume

[1] In all Buddhist temples incense is continually burning before the various objects of worship.

[2] The phrase "in close communion" is an adaptation from the original, which is "one heart." This phrase "one heart" is explained in an appendix of the present work to signify that worshippers and the object of worship are both "one" (spiritually).

of these flowers spread through the worlds of space (*lit.* of the ten regions), and reach to every land of all the Buddhas.

[*Direction.*]—Then let the worshippers light the incense and scatter the flowers, and with profound reflection, say—

I scatter these flowers and this incense
In token of the mysterious character and the excellence of the Doctrine we (profess),
(Symbols of) the harmony of Heaven and its holy joys (*lit.* precious perfume),
Angels' food and their sacred vestments.
How impossible is it to exhibit in words the infinite portions of the mysterious[1] universe!
Each single atom evolved from all the atoms,
Each single atom evolved from the aggregate of all,
Revolving thus unhindered they unite in one harmonious whole.
And thus diffused through space they appear before the three precious objects of worship,
And before the three precious objects of worship throughout the vast collective universe.
Thus as I with my body offer this sacrifice,
It is presented throughout each region of the universe,
Unhindered, unopposed by any external object;
And so through endless ages yet to come, discharging these sacred duties,
All sentient creatures united at length with the Divine essence,
(Thus united) shall attain the Heart of Wisdom,[2] the State that admits of no Birth, the Wisdom of Buddha himself. [Having concluded these offerings, let all remain solemnly reverent.]

[*Direction.*]—Having finished this chant, bow once. Let the worshippers now repeat the following invocations.

[1] Miau fah, *i. e.*, saddharma.

[2] I need not say that in the translation of such passages as the above, I can only hope to attain to some obscure idea of the meaning of the original. The Heart of Wisdom evidently implies Supreme Wisdom, or the Divine essence.

[*Chant.*]—One in Spirit, respectfully we invoke thee. Hail! our own Teacher Sâkya Muni Lokajit.

[*Secret.*]—My nature being one with that of Tathâgata, if only the obstacles be removed, he will come and receive our offerings.

[The following invocations are similar to the above, following in order]; viz., to—

2. Amitâbha Lokajit of the world Sukhavatî.
3. Sîlaprabha Râjâ Lokajit, of endless Kalpas past.
4. All the past Buddhas numerous as the sands of countless rivers Ganges.

[And so on down to Devas, Nâgas, and Spirits.]

[*Prayer.*]—Oh! would that our own Teacher, Sâkya Muni, and our merciful Father Amitâbha (and the rest), would descend to this sacred precinct and be present with us who now discharge these religious duties. Would that the great, perfect, illimitable compassionate Heart, influenced by these invocations, would now attend and receive our offerings. May the Omnipotent and Omniscient Kwan-yin, bearing the sword of her own strong vow, now come amongst us reciting these Divine sentences, and remove from us the three obstacles (viz., of impure thought, speech, and action).

[And so on for other invocations.]

[*Direction.*]—[All the above part of the Service, from the first invocation to Sâkya Muni down to the last words in the Text, must be repeated only on the first day; on other days, after the oblation of incense and flowers, proceed as follows]—

[*Chant.*]—Hail! Saddharma Prabha Tathâgata of bygone ages ⊙.[1] And thou! our ever-present Kwan-shi-yin-Bôdhisatwa, who hast perfected wondrous merit, and art possessed of great mercy, who, in virtue of thine infinite power and wisdom, art manifested throughout the universe for the defence and protection of all creatures, and who leadest all to the attainment of boundless wisdom, and teachest them the connection of Divine Sentences⊙.[1] Thou

[1] The mark ⊙ in the original probably denotes a change of tone in the recitation of the chant. The celebrant priest always holds a small bell in his hand with which he denotes a change of tone, etc.

who protectest us ever from the evil ways of birth, who grantest us to be born in the presence of Buddha, who dispellest all troubles, evil diseases and ignorance, who, by thy power of spiritual perception, art able to appear always to answer prayer, causing that which is desired to be brought about, who removest all doubts, who art able to cause speedy acquirement of the three degrees[1] of merit, and a rapid birth in the land of Buddha (or in the position of Buddha); possessed of infinite spiritual power, beyond the capability of language to express, we therefore adore Thee and worship, with one heart and mind!

[*Direction.*]—The worshippers should be filled with holy joy and pious reverence, their hearts without confusion; they should render due homage; bowing three times at the mention of Sâkya Buddha, etc. Then proceed:—

[*Invocation.*]—One in heart and mind, we worship Thee our own Teacher Sâkya Muni Lokajit!

[*Direction.*]—Repeat three times; bow three times; and with deep reflection say secretly, "The nature both of the object and subject in worship is empty (spiritual). Difficult is it to explain the blending of the one with the other. I regard this sacred altar as a Royal gem (a mirror?)—in the midst of it appears the shadow of Sâkya Tathâgata; my body also appears in the presence of Sâkya; prostrate thus upon my face and hands I worship him, that hereafter all the Buddhas and Bodhisatwas when invoked may duly appear."

[*Chant.*]—One in heart and mind we worship thee Amitâbha of the Western world Sukhavatî, Lokajit.

[Here follow ascriptions of worship to all the Buddhas and Bodhisatwas named in the former part of this service.]

[*Direction.*]—After these acts of worship, all the worshippers should bow once, then let the officiating priest proceed.

LESSON.

The Scripture saith: Whatever Bikshu or Bikshunî, Upâsaka or Upâsakî, layman or laywoman, desires to recite the sentences of this service, in order to excite in the midst of all sentient creatures the operation of the Compassionate

[1] *Lit.* "the three vehicles."

Merciful Heart, ought first to go through the following vows :—

[*Direction.*]—Then all prostrate themselves and say,—

All hail! Great Compassionate Kwan-shai-yin,
Oh! may I soon acquire perfect knowledge.

All hail! Great Compassionate Kwan-shai-yin,
Oh! may I soon attain the eyes of Divine Wisdom!

All hail! etc.,
Oh! may I quickly deliver all sentient creatures!

All hail! etc.,
Oh! may I soon acquire a glorious emancipation!

All hail! etc.,
Oh! may I soon cross over to the other side, in the boat Prajnâ!

All hail! etc.,
Oh! may I soon pass over the sea of sorrow!

All hail! etc.,
Oh! may I quickly obtain holiness (*lit.* the fixed way of the moral precepts).

All hail! etc.,
Oh! may I soon attain to Nirvâna (the hill of Nirvâna).

All hail! etc.,
Oh! may I quickly return to unconditioned Being (wou wei).

Though I were cast upon the mountain of knives,
They should not hurt me!
Though thrown into the midst of the lake of fire,
It should not burn me!
Though hurled down to the lowest hell,
It should not hold me!
Though hungry ghosts surrounded me,
They should not touch me!
Though exposed to the power of Asuras,
Their malice should not reach me!
Though transformed amongst the lowest forms of life,
I should attain to heavenly wisdom!

[*Invocation.*]—Hail ! Kwan-yin Bôdhisatwa.

[*Direction.*]—To be repeated ten times, quickly. Let the worshippers here pray for deliverance from any particular calamity, such as fire, drowning, etc.

[*Invocation.*]—Hail ! Amitâbha Buddha.

[*Direction.*]—Ten times quickly repeated. Then let the officiating priest continue thus—

[*Lesson.*]—Kwan-yin, addressing Buddha, said : World honoured one ! Whilst the recitation of these divine sentences is ineffectual to deliver creatures from the three evil ways of birth, I vow never to arrive at the condition of Buddha ! So long as those who recite these divine sentences are not born in the various lands of all the Buddhas, I vow never to arrive at that condition myself ! So long as those who recite these divine sentences are unable to attain every degree of spiritual perception, I vow never to arrive at the condition of Buddha ! So long as those who recite these divine sentences do not receive full answer to their prayers, I vow to remain as I am !

Then, in the midst of all the congregation—with closed palms, standing perfectly upright, exciting in all creatures the great compassionate heart, his eyebrows raised, a smile on his lips—Kwan-yin forthwith began to deliver these comprehensive, effectual, complete, great compassionate heart Dhâranî, mysterious and divine sentences.

[*Direction.*]—Then let all the priests recite together—

Namo ho lo tan na to lo ye ye,
Namo ho li ye, Po lou ki ti lo che lo yo,
Bo ti sah to po ye, Mo ho ka lou ni ka ye,
Om !
Sah pa lah fah ye, etc.

[These Dhâranîs being corrupt forms of Sanskrit or Pali words—chiefly names of popular objects of worship, interspersed with interjectional phrases, such as Om, svah, etc., —I do not transcribe them further. The Sanskrit forms of the few written above appear to be Namo Ratnatrayáya,

Namo Aryâvalokitesvarâya, Bôdhisatvaya, Mahásattvâya, Mahâkarunikâya, Om, etc., etc.]

[*Direction.*]—The worshippers having recited the Dhâranî, must prostrate themselves on their faces and hands three times; then stand up four times in succession; then walk round the altar in procession eleven times; then stand up again three times in succession. This being finished, all standing upright, let the officiating priest continue thus—

Kwan-yin Bôdhisatwa having delivered these sentences, the great earth trembled six times. The heavens rained precious flowers, which fell down in commingled profusion. All the Buddhas of the ten quarters rejoiced. The powerful demons and the heretics shook with fear, and their hair stood on end. The members of the congregation immediately entered upon the paths, some on the path Srotâpanna, some on the path Sakradâgâmi, some on the path Anâgâmi, some on the path of a Rahat; others again obtained that condition which is known as the first platform (one earth), others the second, others the third, and so on, up to the tenth (Dasabhûmi), and numberless others attained to the heart of wisdom (*i. e.*, complete knowledge or Bodhi.)

[*Direction.*]—Bowing low, say thus—

We, and all men from the very first, by reason of the grievous sins we have committed in thought, word, and deed, have lived in ignorance of all the Buddhas, and of any way of escape from the consequences of our conduct. We have followed only the course of this evil world, nor have we known aught of supreme wisdom; and even now, though enlightened as to our duty, yet, with others, we still commit heavy sins, which prevent us advancing in true knowledge. Therefore, in the presence of Kwan-yin, and the Buddhas of the ten regions, we would humble ourselves and repent us of our sins. Oh! that we may have strength to do so aright, and that they may cause all obstacles to be removed. [Here with a loud voice add]—

For the sake of all sentient creatures, in whatever capacity they be, would that all obstacles may be removed, we confess our sins and repent!

[*Direction.*]—A complete prostration. Then continue thus—

We, and all men from the first, from too great love of outward things, and from inward affection to men, leading to sinful friendships, having no wish to benefit others, or to do good in the least degree, have only strengthened the power of the three sources of sin, and added sin to sin; and even though our actual crimes have not been so great, yet a wicked heart has ruled us within; day and night, without interval or hesitation, have we continually contrived how to do wrong. There has been no desire after knowledge, no fear of misery, no alarm, no heart-chiding, we have gone on heedless of all consequences. Now, therefore, believing from the bottom of the heart in the certain results of sin, filled with fear and shame, and great heart-chiding, we would thus publicly repent us of our sins; we would cut off our connection with worldly objects, and aspire to the heart of knowledge; we would separate ourselves from evil and pursue good; we would diligently recount all our past offences and earnestly pursue the path of virtue, ever remembering the blessedness of heaven, and the power of all the Buddhas to deliver and rescue us and all men from evil. Hitherto we have only gone astray, but now we return. Oh! would that the merciful Kwan-yin would receive our vows of amendment.

[*Direction.*]—An entire prostration. Then add—

With all our heart do we (mentioning each one his name) repent of our sins. We all here prostrate ourselves before the sacred presence with all the countless beings of the infinite universe. [Here follow particular confessions of sin.] . . . . So were we helpless and lost till we found out Kwan-shai-yin, the great teacher of the ten regions, who has manifested to all the source of true wisdom, ... so have we repented and returned. Would that the great compassionate Kwan-yin Bôdhisatwa Mahâsatwa, possessing 1000 hands and 1000 eyes, would overcome and destroy all obstacles in our way; . . . . . . would that our original power of acquiring

knowledge might develope itself . . . . . so that quitting this body we might obtain perfect rest and repose. . . . . . Amitâbha Buddha! of the world Sukhavatî, receive our offerings!

Great compassionate Kwan-yin, who art acquainted with all the sentences, fit to deliver every sort of creature, may all emerge from the wheel of transmigration and be saved.

[*Direction.*]—Having finished these vows connected with the confession and repentance of the worshippers, let adoration be once more paid to the three precious objects of worship.

All hail! Buddhas of the ten quarters!
All hail! Law of the ten quarters!
All hail! Assembly of the ten quarters!
Hail! Sâkya Muni Buddha!
Hail! Amitâbha Buddha!

[And so on as before.]

[*Direction.*]—Having walked round the altar in procession three times, once more returning before the image of Kwan-Yin, proceed with these three forms of devout worship. (*Kwai-i.*)

I pray for all men, that they may attain perfection of wisdom.

I pray that all men may be deeply versed in the wisdom of the Sacred books, and acquire perfect knowledge.

I pray that all men may agree in the great principles of truth, and maintain peace, and reverence the Church (Sañgha.)

[*Direction.*]—(One bow.)

[*Invocation.*]—Namo! Kwan-shai-yin Bôdhisatwa.

[*Direction.*]—(Three times invest the altar, and then leave the sanctuary.)

Kia King, 6th year, 7th month, 8th day.

May the merit of this book redound to the benefit of all men, so that I and all mankind may soon arrive at the condition of Buddha.

PART V.

DECLINE AND FALL.

(MYSTICAL PANTHEISM.)

THE chief characteristic of this period is the adoption of Tantra worship—that is, the use of magic formulæ (dhârânî) accompanied by certain manipulation of the fingers (mudrâ), as if to supplement the power of the words.[1]

Another distinguishing feature of the period in question is the general adoption of (1) practices and (2) theories belonging to the Sects. The former is exemplified in the use of Yôga (abstraction), and generally, in the adoption of superstitious rites in the worship of the Sakti or female form of the Supreme object of worship. The second is shewn in the belief in an universal principle (Hari), that is unaffected by any circumstance of time or place.[2]

The presence of Sivite objects of worship in the Buddhist temple-caves in India has long ago attracted the notice of learned men and led to much controversy.[3] With respect to the prevalence of Vishnaiva theories in later Buddhism, it is almost the fact that the Vishnu Purana, and the Bhagavad-gita, are the best commentaries we have on the subject of the Buddhist speculations of this period. The general adoption of the word "Bhagavat" as the title of Buddha, is further evidence of this agreement.[4]

[1] We may conveniently confine the period to the interval between Asañgha and Kumârila Bhatta, the predecessor of Sankarâcharya (400-800 A.D. Vide Colebrooke, *Essays*, pp. 190-213.

[2] So far does this confusion extend, that the Vedanta philosophy, the Nyaya of Gotama, and the Yoga of Pâtanjala, have all been traced to a Buddhist origin (Banerjea, *Hindu Philosophy*, pp. 313-191).

[3] Burnouf, *Introd.*, 548, 549, ss.

[4] Compare particularly the account given of Sri-Bhagavatî, "the Voice of Vishnu," with Kwan-yin (*Vish. Pur.*, 73, 74). Burnouf has detected the word "Bhagavat" in the rock inscription of Bhabra; but my argument will be equally well served if the Vishnaivas borrowed the term from the Buddhists.

The Chinese definition of the development we are considering is this: "The fifth (form of development) of the Great vehicle (Mahâyana), is called the perfectly-complete (ün). This development teaches that external relations or marks (siang) are identical with Nature (sing, Prakriti or pradhâna, *i.e.*, the 'origin of all').[1] That the immaterial principle (li) and the 'world' (sse, 'things') are perfectly intermingled (*i. e.*, 'one harmonious whole').[2] Cause and effect are not different. The 'universal' (yih-tsai) is the same as the 'one'. The 'one' is the same as the 'universal". In the 'little' is found the 'great'. In the 'great' is found the 'little'. 'Changes' are the result of cause and not. The forms of existence are infinite."[3]

From this it appears we may justly regard the period as one of "Mystical Pantheism".

Apart from its metaphysical speculations (which are so fully considered in Wassilief's *Exposition of Taranatha*), there are two Sûtras commonly known in China, which may illustrate the period we are considering.

1. THE DHÂRANÎ OF TCHUNDI.[4]

The fabulous Being invoked by the Chinese as Chun-ti,

[1] This theory seems to be, that the relative and absolute are "one."

[2] Compare the saying of the Vedanta, "All this is God."

[3] *Catechism of the Shamans*, Glossary, p. 31.

[4] Often spoken of as "Our Lady" (neang-neang) or the Holy-Mother (shing-moo), or "the Mother of Buddha," or "the Holy Mother of all the Buddas." To illustrate the intermixture of Buddhist and Hindu superstitions, I quote some lines found in the house of Rajah Shunker at Jubbulpoor at the time of the great mutiny (Chambers, *Revolt in India*, p. 346):—

"Shut the mouth of slanderers bite and
Eat up backbiters, trample down the sinners
You Sutrsingarka!
Kill the British, exterminate them,
Mat-Chundee! etc."

Where Mat-Chundee is another name for Devî or Durga, and doubtless the same as Mother-Tchundi (Tchundi matrikâ). [I have also now

has been identified with Maritchi Deva (Eitel *sub voc.*) Maritchi Deva was one of the Mânasa putras, or sons of Brahma's mind.[1] It is possible that the "sse-tien" or Thought-deva (Tchintâ-deva)[2] of the Chinese is but another form of this Being. According to some authorities, Tchundi is only another form of Durga[3] or Parvati.[4] He is generally worshipped in China as a form of Kwan-Yin.[5] In this relation he is represented as a female "clothed in white" (pih-i), with a child in her lap. The Buddhists speak of the Sectaries generally as "clothed in white", in opposition to themselves "clothed in yellow" (Kasâya). We may suppose, therefore, that this figure of Tchundi was borrowed from a foreign source. This, and other circumstances, have led to the opinion that there is a "Christian" element in this worship. Georgi, in fact, states roundly that Maritchi is a corruption of the name of the "Blessed Virgin Mary" (Eitel, *ut supra*).[6] There will be evidence enough of similarity in other particulars, which tend rather to give colouring to Georgi's opinion. But the entire question of the intermixture of Buddhism with early Christian Teaching requires investigation.

2. RECITATION OF THE DHARANI OF TCHUNDI.[7]

First of all (when seated), the right foot should be placed

before me a small brass figure of Durga, with her necklace of skulls, etc., which was taken from a Buddhist temple near Pekin.]

[1] *Vish. Pur.*, 49, 55.

[2] Vide Julien, *Méthode*, p. 66. The Abidharma is also called Bhagavat matrikâ. Vide Burnouf, *Introd.*, 317, n. 2.

[3] The epithet "Sasti," or it may be "Sati," given below to Tchundi, shews that she is a form of Devi or Durga.

[4] *Vish. Pur.*, p. 51, n. 4.

[5] I take it that, in general, during this last period, Kwan-yin represents the "Female" principle in Nature.

[6] On reviewing the whole subject, it would appear deserving of thought how far the two tendencies in East and West to the same mode of worship (considered in the abstract) were independent of one another.

[7] The word "recitation" (nim) in this period is equivalent to the Sanscrit "Sansmarana" as explained in the *Vishnu Purana*, 210, n. 13.

evenly on the thigh of the left leg—this is called the Vâjra (diamond) mode of session. The hands placed openly one above the other, with the right hand uppermost, the two thumbs in contact—this is called the "Seal of Samadhi."

Here follow the Gâthas of Nagardjuna Bôdhisatwa (to be repeated once).

"Ever reciting the accumulated merits of Tchundi; the heart at peace; no disasters shall ever befall such a man; in heaven and earth, enjoying happiness like that of Buddha; finding this magic pearl; there is a certainty of salvation.

Namo! Ṡakti-Buddha-Mâtrikâ-Mahá-Tchundi-Bôdhisatwa-Mâhâsatwa (or it may be "Hail! Mother of seven Kôtis of Buddhas! Maha Tchundi," etc.)[1]

Then, the heart and the body being perfectly composed, conceive the idea that there proceeds from the body and rests above the top of the head, a lambent flame of fire like a bright gem or as the full moon.[2]

The Dharani of the Pure-World (twenty-one repetitions.)

Om! Lam![3]

Next let the thumb of the left hand press upon the first joint of the ring finger of the same hand, whilst the other

[1] I take the expression tsi-kiu-ti to be equal to "Sakti." It might be also rendered "seven kotis."

[2] For an account of this "lambent flame of sanctity" consult Burnouf, *Introduction*, pp. 559, 609. We cannot omit to draw attention to this subject, as it shews that there was a certain development in the Southern schools similar to that we are now considering. (For further explanation of this symbol of the Sula-mani, above the head of Buddha. consult Burnouf, *Essai sur le Pali*, p. 88; E. Burnouf, *Sansc. Dict.*, sub voc. çûdâ; Clough's *Pali Vocab.*, p. 116-19, etc. I wish also to add, in reference to the origin of the word "Surañgama," that it is plain, from the Chinese gloss upon it, that the expression is equivalent to the Swar-loka, or region from the Sun to Dhruva, where Dhruva, in the sense of "firm," "solid," answers precisely to the Chinese phrase Kin-ku, explanatory of "Sura." Compare the Chinese tika on the first section of the Sûtra with *Vishnu Purana*, p. 212, n. 1).

[3] Râm, or perhaps, Hrom. vid. *Dubois*, p. 346. Also, *South India Sketches*, ii, 48.

fingers overlap them in the shape of a fist. This is called the Diamond-fist-seal; with the right hand, meanwhile, count the beads (*i. e.*, whilst reciting the above words).

The Dharani of Manjusri Bôdhisatwa for protecting the body.

Om ! Svar (tsai-ling). (To be repeated twenty-one times).

The great enlightened Dharani of Kwan-Yin consisting of six words.

Om ! mani padme, houm.

The name of Buddha (to be repeated 108 times.)
Namo ! Amitabha Buddha !

Next, with the ring-fingers of both hands, intertwined with the little fingers, and the two middle fingers of both hands placed together, top to top, above the others, whilst the thumbs of both hands press against the middle joint of the ring-fingers; this, which is called the hand-seal of Tchundi, ought to be placed close on to the region of the heart.

In this posture repeat the Gâtha following.

In humble prostration I adore thee, O Sastî (Durgâ) ! On my face I worship thee, Oh Sakti ! I invoke thee and recite thy praises, Oh Tchundi ! Oh ! that thou wouldest, in thy great Love, come to my help !

The Dharanî of Tchundi (to be repeated 108 times).

Namo ! satanam, samyak sambôdhi kotînam Djeta ! Om ! Djala ! Djila ! Tchundi ! Svah !

The circle-dharani of one word.
(To be repeated every time the Tchundi Dharani is recited.)

Om ! Bhûr (pou-lin).

The recitation of the Dharani being finished, then place the open hand as a seal on the top of the head, and with the right hand behind the back make the diamond-seal, and repeat the word "houm" (Amen); then perform five distinct

acts of sealing oneself, viz., on the forehead, on the left shoulder, the right shoulder, the breast, the throat. This done, remove the hand from off the head.

Gâthas of personal consecration (hwui-hiang.)

I, now reciting the praises of Tchundi, will make a great and earnest vow for final enlightenment. Oh, may I attain to complete and certain wisdom! Oh, may I, through the accomplishment of every merit, attain to the perfection of Bliss, and so conduce to the final salvation of all men! All the wicked deeds which formerly were done by me, proceeded from the original sins of covetousness, anger, delusion (tamas, rajas, moha); from the evils of body, thought and speech. I now repent of them all! Oh, would that at the end of life, every obstacle removed, I may plainly see face to face that Buddha Amitâbha, and so at once be taken to the land of endless joys.

[Persons much occupied in household matters, or a man steering a ship, or riding, etc., not being able to use both hands to make the Tchundi mudrâ, may with his left hand make the Vâjra mudrâ, and count his beads with the right hand.]

3. NÂGA-WORSHIP.

Another characteristic of this period is the adoption of popular myths, as a means, probably, for enlisting popular sympathy. The principle of the development being that all systems were equally true, or that truth was to be found in all systems, there was no difficulty felt in adopting any form of superstitious worship that would tend to enlist popular feeling on the side of the persecuted sect.[1]

[1] It would seem as though this principle were carried out in every case save in adopting the left-handed worship of the Saktis. At any rate, General Cunningham has observed that over the ruins of many Vihâras, Lingams are erected, as if in token of the triumph of this corrupt worship, over the more scrupulous faith of the Buddhists (*Arch. Survey, passim*).

No superstition was more deeply bedded in the Hindu mind than reverence for Nâgas or Dragons. It would be out of place to enter on any investigation of this subject. It has already been exhaustively handled. But whencesoever derived the fact remains the same—that this reverence was very generally prevalent among Buddhists. The flourishing convent of Nâlanda owed its foundation to the supposed influence of a Dragon in the neighbouring tank. And from every quarter evidence is provided to shew that Buddhism from the first had to contend as much against the under current of Nâga reverence in the popular mind, as against the supercilious opposition of the philosophic Brahman in the upper current. At last, as it would seem, driven to an extremity by the gathering cloud of persecution, the Buddhists sought escape by closing with the popular creed, and endeavouring to enlist the "people" against the "priests," but with no further success than such a respite as might be included within some one hundred years.

There is a Sûtra well known in China, relating to this phase of Buddhist history. It has been referred to by Dr. Fergusson,[1] and is supposed by him to date from the twelfth or thirteenth century. But I doubt not, the Sûtra itself belongs to an earlier period, although the curious figures of Nâgas, and the plans given of the Nâga-mandala, or sacred precinct, with its various adjuncts, probably belong to the period mentioned.

With some allusion to this work I design to close the subject of the present investigation.

4. *Abstract of a Chinese Sûtra, called The Great cloud-wheel Rain-asking, Sutra; or by the Chinese "Tai-Yun-lun-tsing-u-King."*

This Sutra is said to be the translation of a Sanscrit work called "Ârya-mahâ-mêgha-mandala-varsha-vardhana nâma Sûtra."[2]

[1] Pp. 52, 53, *Tree and Serpent Worship.*

[2] Or, Vardha-varsha.

It was rendered into Chinese by Nalanda Yasa, a Doctor of the three Pitakas (san-tsang fah-sse). It has an Imperial preface written by Kien-Lung (1780 A.D.)

From internal evidence I should be inclined to think the original work to have been one of the latest of the Mahâyana school.[1] It is alluded to by Wong-Puh, A.D. 684 (*supra*, p. 135); it must, therefore, have been known in China before that date. Perhaps those who have access to Chinese Buddhist works will find this Sûtra in the list of those brought from India by Hionen Thsang.

The Imperial preface is to the following effect:—

"Formerly, when Sâkya delivered the Law, the eight classes of Heavenly Dragons flocked as a cloud to hear him preach. The spiritual power of these Dragons is very great; their merit is boundless; their influence extends upwards to the heaven of Brahmâ, and downwards it encircles and protects the world. Their power of doing good to men is also immense.

"Now, on the delivery of this Great cloud-wheel rain-asking Sûtra, composed of two parts, it is traditionally stated that Buddha was residing within the Dragon Palace of Nandópananda, where he occupied the incalculably beautiful Mani chamber, in the middle of the Great cloud-wheel palace, standing in the centre of the precious tower (surmounting the Palace), where all the Dragons were assembled. Then arose a Nâga Râjah called 'Wou-hien-chwong-

[1] The study of this Sûtra would, I think, reward any one curious in the matter of "Serpent-worship". The statement that the Nâga-rajahs were Supreme Rulers of the "chiliocosm" and the "infinite chiliocosms"—but that they were nevertheless subservient to Buddha—is evidence that there had been a struggle between the serpent-worshipping races and the Buddhists; the final accommodation of which was the compromise named above. The various sculptured scenes of the Amravati Tope, appear to me to refer to incidents which occurred during the struggle of Buddhism with Nâga-worship in the South of India. *Vide*, as an example, the Legend of Samgha-rakchita. Burnouf, *Introd.*, 313, ss. It would seem, too, as if the worship of Ganesa was but a form of Nâga worship.

yan-hai-yun-wai-tai-lun-koi,' *i. e.*, The Dragon King gloriously encircled with clouds (vast in extent as) the boundless chwang-yan ocean. This King arose, I say, to inquire of Buddha respecting some religious matters. Now, the Dragon Nanda (? Nandópananda)[1] is the most powerful of all the Dragons who occupy this So-ho world [*i. e.*, the Great Chiliocosm or Sahalôkadhatu]; but the glorious circle-crested Dragon King, of whom we are now speaking, is the most worshipful of all the Dragons who dwell in the vast chiliocosm of systems of which the universe is composed; his spiritual power can never be measured . . . . So it was he arose and questioned Buddha first of all how to destroy the calamities to which the Dragons are themselves subject. And then how to excite a loving and grateful disposition in the hearts of living creatures, by affording them rain when it was required to ripen the five sorts of grain.

"Illustrious question indeed! for it is thus (by inquiry) men attain the condition of Buddha himself!

"To these questions the world-honoured one answered with his customary skill 'Exercising the quality of "Great Love" is the only method! For the quality of such love is this, that it admits of no time or place where it may not be exercised. It is the possession of this quality which constrains the Dragons[2] to collect the clouds and disperse the rain, and it is this which removes all opposing influences from amongst men! . . . and besides this, by the repetition of sacred words (dhâranî) perfectly uttered, with the most exact precision, it is by these means that august spiritual influences are exercised, for the right government of the universe and the good of all creatures . . . . Thus the power of Love on the part of the Dragons, causes the exercise of the same quality on the part of Buddha both towards Dragons and men.'

[1] The original is Nan-to yau-pa; Spence Hardy (M. B., 302) relates to us the story of Nandópananda and Mugalan.

[2] It appears from this that the function of the Dragon Râjah corresponded in this respect to that of the νεφεληγερέτης Ζεῦς, just as the Scandinavian Thor or Donan was the τερπικέραυνος Ζεῦς.

"Now I, the Emperor, had from the first, with the greatest exactness both morning and evening performed my religious duties with a view to propitiate the Heavenly powers to grant rain for my people during the dry weather. It happened that during several spring seasons there had been an interruption (fault) in the midst of the falling rain. Whereupon, all my subjects had recourse to the usual sacrifices for the purpose of securing a greater rain-fall, but alas! without effect.

"Then, after deliberation in the 'Mow-seuh' year of my reign (1778 A.D.), the President, Kin-Kan, respectfully informed me that the priests of the Nim-fa Temple had made a reasonable communication to him to the effect that they possessed a volume of the Pitakas called the 'Great Cloud-wheel rain-asking Sûtra', translated by a Doctor of the three Pitakas called Nalanda Yasa, and that if this Sutra were recited and prayer made for rain, doubtless its virtue would be made apparent.

"On this, I ordered the Secretary of the Sûtra Library to get this volume carved and printed in the square character, like the Vadjrachhedika Sûtra. In the preparation of it all the faults of the old Sûtra were carefully corrected by an accurate comparison with the 'right use' (original?); and, moreover, prayer and worship were ordered to be made, with a view that the old forms which had been so beneficial during former ages, might still be blessed for the desired end.

"47th year of Kien Lung, 4th month, 1783 A.D."

Abstract of the Sûtra.

"Thus have I heard: once on a time Buddha was dwelling in the Palace of Nandôpananda, the Nâga Rajah; he was located in the chamber of the beautiful Mani Gem (or, in the Mahâtejas Mani Hall), in the midst of the precious Tower that surmounted the Great Cloud circle pavilion, with the Great Bikshus and all the Bôdhisatwas gathered round him in a circle. And there were also present an endless

number of the great Nâga Rajahs, to wit—Nânda Nâga Rajah, Upananda Nâga Râjah, Sagara Nâga Râjah, Anavâtâpta Nâga Râjah, Manasvin Nâga Râjah, Varouna Nâga Râjah, Takchaka Nâga Râjah, Ditarâkcha Nâga Râjah, Vâsuki Nâga Râjah, Moutchilinda Nâga Râjah, Elapâtra (Elapana) Nâga Râjah, Pindara Nâga Râjah, Tejasvin Nâga Râjah, and 171 others.

"Such were the chief Nâgas assembled on this occasion. But there were also an infinite number[1] of Lesser Nâga Râjahs, who came together and joined that assembly. Then the whole of these Dragon Kings rising from their seats, each one arranged his dress in the orthodox way, and then with the right knee bent to the ground and their hands clasped in supplication, with their faces towards Buddha,[2] they offered to him every kind of Flower and incense, innumerable as to quantity, most excellent as to quality: this done, they presented also every kind of precious vestment, banners and canopies, with every description of jewelled diadem, and pearl necklace, gem-embroidered silk and jewelled net-like waistband, and scattering above him jets of delicious perfumes, they performed every kind of joyous dance, and with their hands beating in unison they[3] sang his praises—till, possessed of one invincible purpose to honour him in the highest degree,

[1] Eighty-four ninnahutas; 1 ninnahuta = 100000 nahutas. The expression in the text is literally 84 lacs of nahutas, and a nahuta is 10,000,000,000,000,000,000,000; therefore the number represented would be 84 × 100,000 × 10,000,000,000,000,000,000,000. Vide Burnouf, *Introd.*, p. 854.

[2] The phrase "yih-min" literally means "one face," but it also signifies "one while," "one time"; but the meaning of this phrase (which is of very frequent occurrence) is best illustrated by the practice alluded to by Prof. Banerjea, *Hindu Philosophy*, p. 427. "The prince entered the room, prostrated himself before his father, *and then remained standing for several minutes.*"

[3] Observe that the word here used for "singing praises" corresponds to the Sanscrit "ark," from which the Rig or Rich Veda takes its name. With regard to the expression "beating their hands in unison," compare fig. 1, plate lxxiii, *Tree and Serpent Worship.*

they whirled round him in a circle[1] a hundred thousand times, and then suddenly halting they stood perfectly still, fixed in their attitude, with their faces bent in one direction. At this time, all the Dragons standing thus, prayed a common prayer, and said: 'Oh, would that all the countless, boundless, inconceivably vast and various forms of sea-clouds (Dragons ?), passing from the innumerable worlds and filling space, would assemble here and bring their gifts and offerings thus to the countless Buddhas belonging to these various systems of worlds.'

"Then came the different[2] sea-cloud forms, bringing with them their offerings wherewith to honour all the Buddhas, to wit, countless gems (mani), precious lion-thrones, jewelled trees, standards, canopies, net-work coverings, precious wheels, etc.

"At this time, the eighty-four ninnahutas of Dragon Kings having completed their prayer, they encompassed Buddha three times, and having performed an act of worship, they again stood erect.

"Then Buddha addressed all the Dragon Kings, and said: 'Each one of you resume his seat.'[3]

"Then each one of the Dragon-Kings, having heard the words which Buddha spoke, returned, and in exact order sat down.

"Then in the midst of the assembly there was one Dragon King whose name was 'Wou-hien-chwong-yan-hai-wan-wai-tih-lun-koi', the most mighty of all the Dragons in the vast chiliocosm of universes, who, by his mighty power of prayer

[1] Compare plate lxxiii, fig. 2, *Tree and Serpent Worship.*

[2] I am quite unable to translate literally the exaggerated numeration employed in this passage. I am also in doubt as to the expression "sea-clouds." Sâgara, which means "the sea" in Sanscrit, also is the name of the Great Dragon of the Sea; whether "sea-clouds" may mean the attendants of Sâgara or not I cannot tell. We may recollect, however, that the expression "Dalai," *e.gr.*, Dalai Lama, is also equivalent to "sea" or "ocean"; possibly the expression may mean "infinite," both as to number and perfection.

[3] "*On the Rajah giving the order, he took a seat.*" Banerjea, *ut supra.*

(or by the strength of his vow), had obtained the privilege of avoiding the evil of different births, and had received his present Dragon Form. Desiring to pay his worship to Tathâgata, and to hear the true law, he had come to Jambudwîpa and assumed his present shape.

"Then, rising from his seat, he arranged his garments in the orthodox way, and bending on his knee with closed palms, he looked towards Buddha, and said: 'World-honoured one! I have a doubt, and I would be satisfied by the wisdom of the all-wise Tathâgata, if I might presume to state my difficulty.'

"Having said this, silently he kept his position.

"Then the world-honoured one addressed this mighty Dragon-King, and said: 'Great Dragon-King, whatever doubts you have, state them freely and interrogate me on the subject; and I for your sake will distinguish and divide my speech, that you may have satisfaction and peace.'

"Having thus spoken, then the mighty Dragon-King above named, immediately asked Buddha as follows: 'If it be so, world-honoured one (Bhagavat), then tell me how it is possible for all the Dragon-Kings to escape the calamities[1] that oppress them, and obtaining rest and release to experience a sense of joy such as may issue in their giving to Jambudwîpa such gentle rainfalls, as will nourish trees and herbs and grain, to the infinite delight and advantage of all men dwelling therein?'

"At this time, the world-honoured one having heard this query, addressed the Dragon-King, named above, and said: 'Well said! well said! it is with a view to the benefit of those sentient creatures that inhabit Jambudwîpa, that your question is framed. Listen, then, and discriminate rightly what I now reply. I possess a law, which, if you are able perfectly to accomplish, then all your sorrows must terminate, and you possess unalloyed happiness. And what is this law? it is called 'the practice of great Love'. If all you Dragon-

[1] For these calamities, vide *Fo-koue-ki*, p. 163.

Kings perform this law perfectly, then fire shall not burn you, nor water drown you, nor poison hurt you, nor knives cut you, etc.; but you shall possess perfect peace.'

"Again, there are certain Dhâranî which are called 'bestowing rest and joy to all creatures', by means of which you yourselves may find rest, and by the repetition of which fertile-giving showers may be made to fall for the growth and nourishment of trees, herbs, and grain.

"Then the Great Dragon-King above named, respectfully requested Buddha to repeat these joy-giving dharani.

"On this Buddha immediately complied, and recited them as follows:

"'Tan-tchi-ta (Djeta ?).
To-lo-ni (Dhâranî).
To-lo-ni (Dhâranî).
Yeou-to-lo-ni (Udhâranî).
San-po-lo-ti-sse-che (Sampratishtâ).
Pi-che-yé (Vâchya).'"

[And so on; these Dhâranî are transliterations from Sanscrit.]

[Next follows a long recitation of the names of all the Tathâgatas. Then a description of the Dragon Temple, the pictures of the four sorts of Dragons (*i.e.*, with three, five, seven, and nine heads, respectively), and the arrangement of the flowers, fruits, lamps, and cakes.[1] Finally, the Dragons perform another ovation to Buddha, and depart.]

[Amongst the names of the Nâga Râjahs given in this Sûtra is that of Kumbîra (alligator or crocodile). This Nâga is extensively worshipped in Japan at the present time as "Compirah," a Sea-God. It seems also to be represented in plate 1, *Tree and Serpent Worship*.]

[1] Closely resembling the arrangement of the Jewish Tabernacle. *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 55.

FINIS.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

P. 5. In reference to the name of the Topes at Varousha, it seems probable that Sang-teh represents the Sanscrit Sânta, which is the equivalent of the Chinese "tsie mie," the common term for Nirvâna (Jul., *Méthode*, p. 20.) General Cunningham has suggested the same word for the origin of Sânchi (*Bhilsa Topes*, 182). So that we may suppose these "Topes" to be monumental records of the Nirvâna of certain eminent saints, whose relics they contain.

P. 11. The Sûra mani or Sun-gem is evidently the same as the Tchoula-mani of the Singhalese (*vide* Burnouf, *Essai sur le Pali*, p. 88). Clough (*Pali Vocabulary*, p. 116, 19) gives "Sulam" as equal to a "trident." The origin of this ornament was probably from a "three-forked" flame, denoting the region of the "Sun" or the "empyræan" above the Sun. For a curious illustration of its use, *vide* the Pali inscription given by Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 438, where the initial ornament is plainly the Sun with a trisul or three-forked flame above it, and the object of its use would seem to be as an invocation of the "highest." Hence it crowns the gates at Sanchi, and is always used as a sacred symbol. For other references to its use, *vide Lotus*, 559, 609, 634.

P. 12. For the interchange of "Dharma" and "Prakriti," *vide* Hodgson's *Essays* (Collected), p. 58.

P. 16. For the use of the word "Patience" in a Buddhist sense, as applied to the "world of men," *vide*, Wassilief, *Bouddhisme*, § 140.

P. 16. With reference to the energy that holds the world so that it cannot be moved, compare *Vishnu Purana* (Wilson), pp. 215 and 650.

P. 23. With reference to the use of the word "Hri," compare *Lalita Vistara*, p. 40, and *Vishnu Purana*, 210, n.

P. 26. With reference to the healing words "The identity of things is the identity of differences," etc., compare the singular

agreement found in the definition of the "Absolute" by a modern writer. "The absolute is the non-difference of differends, the identity of being and the not-being." (*Origin and Develop. of Christian Belief*, vol. i, 289.)

P. 41. The subtle principle spoken of as the "ashta-vijnyâna" is the "moi-spirituel" spoken of by Rémusat (*Fo-koue-ki*, p. 155) as residing in the *eighth viscera;* and hence called "the knowledge of the eighth viscera." This belief, however, is described as that of the heretic Kapila. We have here another instance of the way in which later Buddhism became commingled with the teaching of the Sects.

P. 66. Jemmara should doubtless be rendered Yama Râjah; but the Chinese repeats the word for "King" (wang), which makes it necessary to form a compound of the symbols.

P. 66. For Pi-sha, Mr. Eitel (*Handbook*) gives Vâisali.

P. 154. For the idea of "one Nature," consult *Vish. Pur.*, 651.

P. 181. Kâsyapa, in his argument respecting the interval between giving up the body and assuming another, refers perhaps to the "period of dissolution." Banerjea, *Hindu Philos.*, 210.

P. 187. For an explanation of Samata and Vipasana, *vide* Wassilief, pp. 141 and 320, n.

P. 291. "Blue-lotus-shaped eyes of Tathâgata." Compare the epithet of Vishnu, "Pundarikaksha." *Vishnu Purana*, p. 2, n. 2.

P. 384. In what I have stated respecting the meaning of "Sarmanta mukha," I do not doubt that this, in the first instance, was the original of the Chinese "pou-men"; but what I suggest is, that this title was otherwise translated the "universal voice," and so rendered by the Chinese "Kwan-shai-yin."

GENERAL INDEX.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

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